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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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29 November 1985

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

UKRAINIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ADDRESSES UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[Editorial Report] Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian published on 7 October 1985 on page 3 the 1,500-word "Speech by V. A. Kravets, chief of the Ukrainian SSR delegation and Ukrainian SSR minister of foreign affairs, in the 40th UN General Assembly session general discussion": "For the Fundamental Improvement of the International Situation." Kravets praises recent Soviet arms control initiatives, and criticizes the U.S. response to them, as well as criticizing various U.S. defense programs, particularly SDI, MX, and binary chemical munitions. He also discusses the situations in the Middle East, Central America, and southern Africa.

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CSO: 1807/61

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

ARTICLE ON ROLE OF GOLD IN WORLD ECONOMY

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 40, Oct 85 pp 22-35

[Article by Andrei Anikin]

[Text] At the end of last century an "archive" of clay tablets was found in El Amarnah, Egypt. It was the record dating back some 3,500 years of an exchange of messages between the Pharaohs and the Assyrian, Babylonian and other Middle East potentates. Gold figures prominently in these "letters." The Egypt of that time was rich in this metal, and the rulers of the other kingdoms begged the Pharaohs to share this wealth with them, offering in exchange their goods—steel daggers and rings, chariots, household utensils, etc.

Modern commerce and diplomacy differ from the commerce and diplomacy of the time of the Pharaohs as much as the computer differs from the potter's wheel. But gold still plays an important role in the world economy.

Paeans and Curses

That gold is a precious metal everyone knows of course. It is worth dozens of times more than a quantity of silver of the same weight, hundreds and thousands of times more than copper, and tens of thousands of times more than iron. It is pleasing to the eye, its vivid colour coming in shades that vary depending on the pure gold content of the alloy and what other metals go into it.

Since time immemorial gold has been used for ornaments, jewellery and art objects, many of which are of enormous artistic value and are part of mankind's cultural and historical heritage. Ancient Egyptian, Scythian and Thracian gold objects, the creations of the American Indians of the pre-Columbus era and the masterpieces of the goldsmiths of the Middle Ages and of modern times are the pride of the world's museums.

Gold has unique physical and chemical properties which make its use expedient and at times essential in a number of branches of industry. Its technological applications have been mostly developed in the past several decades and it is now used in electronics, space technology and modern means of communication.

But the place of gold in world history and in contemporary economics is determined basically by its social function—as the measure of value, as money. And since money is both an economic and social category, gold interests not only physicists and chemists, geologists and engineers, but also, and perhaps to an even greater degree, economists and sociologists.

Writers and poets, too, have always been fascinated by the complex and at times mysterious functions of gold in social life. Beginning with Vergil, to whom belong the famous words "auri sacra fames" (the accursed lust for gold), and ending

with our contemporaries, say, Arthur Hailey in whose novel "The Moneychangers," banks and gold occupy the central place. The folklore, the literature of all nations record a host of observations and thoughts on the role of gold in the lives of men. We find here both paeans of praise and curses, worship and fear of its power, dreams of a world without its tyranny. Take Chaucer and Shakespeare, Goethe and Balzac, Pushkin and Gorky. The lust for gold which sent the Spaniards and Portuguese out to unknown lands and prompted both remarkable exploits and monstrous crimes inspired Camoëns' epic poem "The Lusiads." The California gold rush brought Bret Harte into the literary limelight and the Alaska gold rush did the same for Jack London. The world of the Russian goldseekers was vividly depicted by Mamin-Sibiriyak and Shishkov. Zoshchenko wrote in his "Black Prince" of the search for an English ship laden with gold that had foundered in the Black Sea, and the British writer Alan Sillitoe in his "A Start in Life," of the world of gold smugglers and their bosses.

Gold performed the function of money already in ancient times, but that function developed in full measure only in the 19th century when the gold standard came to underlie the monetary system of the developed capitalist countries. Gold became the basis of all other forms of money (bank and treasury notes and bank accounts), which were made convertible into gold coins or ingots at a fixed exchange rate. But soon it became clear that the gold standard as an internal and international monetary system accorded primarily with the conditions of "classical" pre-monopoly capitalism. Present-day state-monopoly capitalism is not compatible with the gold standard. The first world war and the world economic crisis of 1929-33 spelt its demise and led to the introduction in all the capitalist countries of paper money not convertible into gold.

Most bourgeois economists consider this a blessing. Back in 1924 the well-known British economist John Maynard Keynes called gold a barbarous survival, the implication being that the predominance of

paper money alone could ensure the monetary system the flexibility needed by monopoly capital and the modern state. The price that had to be paid for this flexibility was inflation and the steady depreciation of bank notes. In the United States commodity prices have gone up 8 to 10 times over on the average since 1913, and in other capitalist and many developing countries inflation has acquired even greater dimensions.

This situation has given gold its "second wind," so to speak. Although it no longer is the basis of the monetary system and is increasingly used in the jewellery trade and in industry, it stands out among all commodities as regards its social functions. The governments and central banks of the capitalist countries continue to "sit on their gold coffers," and carefully husband their national gold reserves. A relatively new, postwar development is the enormous scale of the hoarding of gold: private banks and firms, individual capitalists, the small bourgeoisie, and people with comparatively high incomes have taken to buying and stashing away gold as "insurance" against inflation and socio-political perturbations.

### Where and How It Is Extracted

Gold has been known to man for no less than 6,000 years. In ancient Egypt it was extracted 3,000-4,000 years ago in workings that went as deep as 100 metres underground. The Romans obtained the metal in what is now Spain; the complex engineering operations undertaken there were described in detail by Pliny the Elder. It is estimated that in the course of its history mankind has extracted some 100,000 tons of gold—enough to make up a 17-metre cube or to fill a medium-sized cinema auditorium.

According to similarly approximate calculations, some 10 per cent of this gold has been irretrievably lost, sunk in the ocean depths, hidden away in unknown caches, wasted in processing, or worn away in the handling of coins. The rest is economically active, in circulation



or available for circulation on the market, or otherwise usable. The present annual output adds only slightly more than one per cent to the existing accumulation.

Latterly output in the capitalist world has been in the neighbourhood of 1,000 tons annually with a slight tendency to increase. This is only one third more than in 1913, somewhat less than on the eve of World War II, and roughly 20 per cent less than the postwar peak of 1,270 tons in 1970. It should be noted that the output of many other mineral raw materials has increased several times over and in some cases tens and hundreds of times over. From this it can be seen that in the world economy gold is in rather short supply.

The bulk of the metal is mined, though a certain quantity is obtained from surface deposits formed by the action of water and wind.

The geological reserves of gold are considerable. According to estimates, in the early eighties surveyed reserves in known goldfields in the capitalist countries amounted to 25,000 tons, and probable reserves, to another 26,000 tons. However, experts do not expect any substantial increase in extraction and even believe it could decline by the end of this century. The production of gold involves an increasing expenditure of manpower and capital investments. The conditions of extraction (the metal content of the ore, the depth of the veins, etc.) are steadily deteriorating. Modern gold production is a complex technological process from the extraction of the ore, its processing and concentration to electrolytic refining. The end product is the standard 99.5 per cent pure gold ingot weighing about 12.5 kilogrammes. The ingots either go into gold reserves or are used for minting coins and in the making of diverse gold objects.

Approximately two thirds of all the gold in the capitalist world is produced today in South Africa (other major producers are the U.S., Canada, Australia and Brazil). In the "gold belt" around Johannesburg there are nearly 40 mines owned by six big companies, in which South African capital predominates, although strong positions have tradi-

tionally been held by London, and in the past several decades the influence of big American concerns has been growing. The top concern in the industry is the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa controlled by the Oppenheimer family, who also control diamond mining in South Africa.

The South African gold-mining industry employs some 450,000 people, of whom 90 per cent are Africans. Only a negligible percentage have any skills, the vast mass of the work force are sent down into the mines after a few days' "training." The companies are not interested in having a steady African work force, preferring to hire Africans on short-term contracts concluded as a rule for no more than two years. The workers live in compounds where they are under the constant eye of overseers. Company spokesmen themselves admit that the cash earnings of the workers (after deductions for the meagre food provided) are enough only for tobacco and strong drink. The accident rate is high and occupational diseases widespread owing to the poor training of the workers and skimpy expenditure on safety techniques and labour protection.

The tide of protest actions that has latterly swept the land of apartheid has not bypassed the goldfields. Despite the opposition of the bosses, a trade union of African workers has been organized. Strikes are assuming an increasingly stubborn character, with not only economic but also political demands being advanced. The miners' struggle merges with the mounting struggle of the entire indigenous population of South Africa against the monstrous system of racial and social oppression.

## The Market

The state gold reserves of all the non-socialist countries and those of international organizations amount to about 35,000 tons, private hoards to 25,000 tons, and gold in the shape of objects to 25,000-30,000 tons. The share of state reserves in the total

has declined considerably in the past 15-20 years inasmuch as practically all the newly mined gold has gone into private hoards or has been used in industry, while in some years the governments of the capitalist countries and the International Monetary Fund have sold part of their reserves on the market. The biggest holder of the precious metal is the United States (8,200 tons), followed by West Germany, France and Switzerland. The IMF and the European Monetary Cooperation Fund (a regional organization of West European countries) hold roughly 3,000 tons each. The developing countries, even OPEC members, have no sizable gold reserves.

The world's biggest accumulation of gold is to be found in the vaults of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, near Wall Street. This huge "storage facility" contains not so much American gold as gold belonging to other countries and international organizations.

This writer has had occasion to see the place. The lift took me down to a depth of 30 metres where, under the eagle eye of an armed security guard, I passed through a massive steel door into a small room from which, through a heavy grating, one could see formidable-looking vaults where the ingots are stacked. More than 12,000 tons of gold are kept here. Most of the United States' own gold reserves is stored away in Fort Knox, Kentucky.

The present U.S. gold reserve is a little more than one third of what it was in 1949, when it was at its maximum and amounted to about 70 per cent of all the gold in the capitalist world. This decline is evidence of the relative weakening of the U.S. position in the world economy, the result of the arms buildup and Washington's adventurist foreign policy. Until 1971 the U.S. dollar was convertible into gold for the governments and central banks of other countries. The latter used their growing dollar accumulations to siphon out gold from Fort Knox. President Nixon closed that "gold window," but in the seventies the U.S. had to sell part of its gold reserve to support the dollar. For the past five years the U.S. gold

reserve has to all intents and purposes been frozen.

Analyzing the tendency of the investment of private cash capital and savings in gold to grow, one American author has observed that gold is simply a measure of fear and greed. Investors put their money into gold for fear of inflation and other convulsions, and also counting on profiting by a possible sharp rise in its price. Even powerful transnational corporations often keep part of their liquid assets in gold. Gold coins are particularly popular with minor hoarders. Since these are sold at a premium many countries mint them and sell them through a retail network of thousands of banks and firms. South Africa has already sold no less than 2,000-2,500 tons of gold in the shape of Krügerrands containing 1 troy ounce (31.1 grammes) of pure gold. The name of the coin is derived from the name of the Boer President of the Transvaal Krüger (the late 19th and early 20th centuries) and the South African currency unit, the rand.

On the international gold market the leading role has traditionally been played by big British and Swiss firms. But in the last ten years this market has to a large extent shifted to the United States, where a gigantic speculative gold futures market has sprung up and expanded. Gold as such does not figure in such deals; it is all done on paper. The vast majority of the deals terminate in liquidation, i.e., the payment of the difference by the side that guesses wrong.

The world's biggest futures market for precious metals, securities and foreign exchange is in Chicago, and the second biggest in New York. In 1981 the turnover of the U.S. gold exchanges ran to 40,000 tons, but not more than 600-700 tons actually changed hands. It is at these Amer-

ican exchanges that the world price of gold is set.

### The World Economy

Prior to the early seventies the official dollar price of gold was set by the U.S. Administration, and the free market price differed little from it. Later the situation changed. The official price de facto ceased to play any real role beginning with 1971 and de jure was abolished in international use by an agreement among the IMF member countries concluded in 1976. Since then all gold deals, including those involving governments and central banks, are transacted only on the market at greatly fluctuating prices.

The price of gold is indicative, firstly, of the profit rate in gold extraction. Second, and more important, fluctuations of the price of gold are a barometer of the state of the world capitalist economy in general, and of the U.S. economy in particular. Increases in gold prices are accompanied or followed by a growth of inflation. As a rule, the dollar price of gold moves in inverse proportion to the exchange rate of the dollar and rises when the rate falls. In short, the weaker the dollar, the higher the price of gold.

The official price in 1934-71 was \$35 per ounce, which accorded with the gold content of the dollar—about 0.889 grammes. After the devaluation of the dollar in 1971 and 1973 the official price was set at \$42.2 per ounce, but this had no practical significance since no one sold or could buy gold at that price. To this day the official price is used to evaluate the U.S. gold reserve in money terms, but this is a pure anachronism and formality. Nearly all other capitalist countries have

gone over to evaluating their reserves by the market price. This price zigzagged upwards until by the beginning of 1980 it exceeded \$800 per ounce, over 20 times more than ten years earlier.

Of course this speculative peak could not last. Many factors combined to bring the price of gold in subsequent years down to \$300-\$400 per ounce. The first of these was the world economic crisis of 1980-82 and the depressed market for most raw materials in this as well as in the subsequent period. Another important factor is the high lending rate in the U.S. and other countries: the holders of money capital prefer securities and deposits in banks, which bring in no small income, to gold which is costly to store and does not bring any direct profit. Lastly, the exchange rate of the dollar in relation to other currencies tended to rise in this period. Nevertheless, the present dollar price of gold is roughly ten times higher than it was in the beginning of the seventies. The purchasing power of gold in relation to commodity prices on the world market has likewise substantially risen.

What is the outlook for gold in the more distant future? Of course the coming generations who will be living in a communist society will decide for themselves how best to use the reserves of gold and how much of it to extract. The consumption of gold will become more rational and functional. By that time the metal will be rid of its "satanic" brand, and will cease to be a symbol of greed, unearned wealth and the exploitation of man by man. In all likelihood it will, above all, be used for technical purposes. And the beauty of the noble metal will serve man's sound esthetic needs.

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

EAST-WEST ECONOMIC COOPERATION MEETING

PM071353 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Oct 85 p 3

[TASS correspondent A. Amirnov dispatch: "Command of the Times"]

[Text] Sofia, 30 September--Economic cooperation between East and West brings mutual benefit and serves the cause of strengthening world peace and consolidating mutual trust in relations between states with different social systems. This is said in the final document adopted by the participants in the second meeting of representatives of business and government circles of capitalist and socialist countries, which has ended in Varna. Around 200 representatives from 23 countries, including the USSR, and also a number of international organizations took part in this major forum.

The meeting's participants, the document notes, discussed the state of and prospects for trade and economic cooperation between East and West. They expressed the conviction that it is essential in the present international situation to help improve the political climate in the world and develop the détente process. Mutually beneficial trade and business contacts should help improve economic and political relations between socialist and developed capitalist countries. The strengthening of trade and economic ties can become a reliable bridge in establishing cooperation between states with opposed political systems. It is essential for this purpose to elaborate a long-term strategy of East-West trade and economic cooperation.

The scientific and technical revolution today determines the future of trade and business relations, it was stressed at the meeting in Varna. Joint use of its achievements for the good of mankind and on behalf of peace and security in the world is the urgent command of the times.

T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, took part in the work of the second meeting of representatives of business and government circles of socialist and capitalist countries.

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CSO: 1825/10

## EAST-WEST RELATIONS

### WESTERN ATTEMPTS TO USE TRADE FOR POLITICAL ENDS HIT

Moscow VOPROSY EKONOMIKI in Russian No 8, Aug 85, pp 78-89

[Article by L.A. Slavinskaya, candidate of economic sciences and junior scientific associate at the USSR Gosplan's Scientific Research Institute of Economics: "Reactionary Doctrines of Economic Relations Between the Two World Systems"]

[Text] Serious negative changes occurred in the area of economic relations between the two world systems at the end of the 70's and the beginning of the 80's. They were manifested in stepped-up attempts by the largest capitalist states, primarily the USA, to use economic relations with the socialist nations for speculative political purposes. These changes had their conceptual basis in the form of doctrines advanced by the most reactionary forces in the West, which involved "linking" the development of economic partnership with the socialist states to the possibility of obtaining political concessions from them, taking a "differentiated approach" to nations of the socialist commonwealth and waging an "economic war" against socialism.

Economic relations between nations with different social systems are undergoing a difficult stage in their development in the 80's due to the qualitatively new round of the arms race unleashed by the imperialist powers, primarily the USA. The socialist nations are countering imperialism's policy of increased aggressiveness with a consistent policy of peace and peaceful co-existence and the strengthening of its material basis, a policy manifested in economic relations with the capitalist states based on equality. The imperialist nations are especially active in the ideological sphere, justifying the course of confrontation with socialism from "theoretical" positions. The bourgeois doctrines set forth are designed, among other things, to undermine the material foundation of detente. They pose a serious danger to the cause of peace and the normalizing of international relations and therefore deserve serious critical examination.

## Concepts of "Linking" or Justifying Foreign Economic Policy from a Position of Strength

The bourgeois literature frequently indicates that the "linkage" concept came into being at the end of the 60's or the beginning of the 70's and name H. Kissinger as its author. This is incorrect. The basic idea behind the "linkage" concept, which was to link the development of economic and on a broader level, political relations, with states in the opposite social system to possibilities for transforming their internal structure and foreign policy, arose in the West immediately after the October Revolution. The main historical task of imperialism from that moment was to weaken and ultimately to eliminate socialism by any means, including political and economic pressure.

We know that one of the first acts with which imperialism greeted the young Soviet Republic was an organized economic blockade against it. This was a form of "linkage" which subsequently came to be called "economic" "zero" linkage in the bourgeois literature.<sup>1</sup> There was also a "linkage" defined by bourgeois theoreticians as "political."<sup>2</sup> In 1921 U.S. Secretary of State C. Hughes advanced a doctrine under which diplomatic relations between the USA and the Soviet State were only possible "if basic changes were made in the Soviet socialist system."<sup>3</sup> The idea of "linkage" as an inseparable component was later incorporated into H. Truman's "cold war" doctrine, when the USA believed that it would be possible to force the Soviet states "to pay any political price" with economic pressure.<sup>4</sup> The doctrine of diplomatic blockade of the GDR, which was formulated in 1955 at a conference of ambassadors to the FRG in Bohn and under which the FRG was not to maintain diplomatic relations with states recognizing the GDR, was also an example of postwar "linkage."

An analysis shows that the "linkage" concept went through several stages of development. During the first years of the Soviet regime's existence, it was the equivalent of the primitive "economic blockade" and "economic isolation" concepts. This was based on the fact that the Soviet Nation, weakened by repelling intervention on the part of 14 capitalist powers and in an extremely difficult economic situation, was the only socialist state. This is why imperialism came up with such audacious tasks as that of returning the Soviet State to capitalism by isolating it economically from the capitalist world opposing the new socialism.

It is noteworthy that even during that period the implementation of such a policy was made difficult by disagreements among the capitalist nations in matters of economic relations with the Soviet Republic, a fact brilliantly predicted by V.I. Lenin. He had the following to say about the development of international economic relations during the economic blockade of Russia: "The statesmen of Europe and the United States apparently do not understand that... as long as the economic problem is considered not from an international standpoint but from the standpoint of individual nations... its resolution will be impossible. Europe cannot get back on its feet without Russia. And when Europe is debilitated, America's situation is critical."<sup>5</sup> Experience soon confirmed the correctness of Lenin's words. As early as the period 1920-1923 France, England, Italy and Germany established diplomatic and economic relations with Soviet Russia, thereby showing an interest in economic

ties with it and demonstrating a realistic approach to the social changes which had begun and which were of worldwide historical importance. The USA set out on the same path much later. And so, the very first experience in applying the "linkage" concept, in its simplest form at that, revealed the absence of a unity of views in the imperialist camp on the strategy of "linking" foreign economic policy toward states with a different social structure to imperialism's strategic task mentioned above.

This process subsequently became more and more distinct as successes in socialist development increased on both the national and the international scale. At the same time the "linkage" concept became more complex. Even during the second stage of its development (mid-50's to the end of 60's) it already incorporated all of the basic ideas contained in the contemporary version of "linkage." The second stage had certain specific features. The appearance of the idea of so-called "positive linkage" in the West immediately after the war, although not yet conceptually formulated, was one of these.<sup>6</sup> The USA invited the USSR and other socialist states to take part in the Marshall Plan. This was an attempt, as American researcher D. Hardt graphically stated, "to hug the enemy to death."<sup>7</sup>

The main results of World War II, however, which were manifested in the founding of the world socialist system, denoted equally great changes in the balance of class forces in the world in favor of socialism. This evoked an abrupt surge of reaction in the imperialist camp. The weaknesses of "positive linkage" were eclipsed by "negative linkage," which was ultimately replaced with an economic blockade of the socialist nations--that is, with "zero linkage."<sup>8</sup> The objectives of the second attempt to implement it were not as sweeping as those of the period of the economic blockade against the young Soviet Republic. The task of returning the USSR to capitalism by isolating it economically from the West was essentially not set. The economic blockade of the USSR was assigned the role of restraining the main class enemy's economic and military development. "The Western nations should not enter into any sort of economic relations with the Soviet Union, since this could strengthen its economic, military and technological capability," stated members of the H. Truman Administration.<sup>9</sup> This strategy of "restraint" was also designed to weaken the Soviet Union and create the conditions for increasing the economic dependence of the other socialist nations upon the West, thereby obtaining a means of applying political pressure upon them.<sup>10</sup> In other words, the "linkage" policy at this stage had the objective of splitting up the world socialist system. Initially it was conducted in the form of "negative linkage" with respect to all the socialist nations. It was modified during the second half of the 50's and then at the beginning of the 60's, however, with the selective introduction of "positive linkage."<sup>11</sup> This actually meant the application of the conceptually unformulated idea of a "differentiated approach" to nations of the socialist commonwealth, which is so widespread today. This approach characterizes the second specific feature of the given stage in the development of the conceptual tenets of "linkage."

The third specific feature of the development of the "linkage" concept during the postwar period was the objective development of conditions for the appearance of its American and West European versions, the particular form of which

reflected the process of increased internal imperialist disagreements on matters of economic relations with the socialist states. The initiators of the economic blockade of the socialist nations--ruling circles of the USA, which had set out on the path of "cold war" and taken a large group of steps to impose its policy upon the entire capitalist world--encountered failure in its attempts to bring the course of its West European allies into strict conformity with the American course. The task of strengthening their internal and international economic position was the primary task of the nations of Western Europe, which had been weakened by the war. Participating in an economic war against socialism would have made this more difficult to accomplish, however, since it would have meant the loss of eastern markets and sources of supplies traditionally important to the West European states.<sup>12</sup> It is therefore not surprising that not one of the governments in Western Europe, despite the existence of forces there no less interested than the American ruling elite in revising the results of World War II, passed any special legislative acts in support of a "cold war" course in the economic area. Among other things, the latter fact indicated the difference between American and West European assessments of the effectiveness of the economic blockade against socialism with respect to the achievements of its ultimate objectives and revealed differences between the two centers of imperialism in their approaches to the ideas of "zero" and "negative linkage." These differences would subsequently develop into acceptance primarily of "positive linkage" by the Western European states, whereas the "negative linkage" combined in many cases with "positive linkage" is most popular in the USA.

The third stage in the development of the conceptual tenets of "linkage" began at the end of the 60's, when extremely important positive changes occurred in the international situation under the influence of successes achieved by the socialist nations in their postwar political and economic development. The role of the USA as the dictator of global foreign economic policy toward the socialist nations was simultaneously weakened in the world capitalist system. This resulted from the increased economic power of the other capitalist states and a reduction in their economic dependence upon the United States, as well as from the growing benefits from economic ties between the allies of the USA and the socialist world, which had been growing slowly but steadily since the mid-50's.

In that situation the USA was forced to reconsider its "eastern" foreign economic policy. An attempt was made to base it on the next version of the "linkage" concept, of which H. Kissinger was the author. The main focus of this version was on modifying the "linkage" of economic relations between the USA and the USSR. First of all, it was stated that the "zero linkage" held absolutely no promise: "The opponents of East-West trade," Kissinger wrote, "calculated that totally depriving the Soviet Union of its benefits would lead to the collapse of the Soviet system. This theory has been disproved by history."<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the author of the new version of the "linkage" concept stated, "our strategy was one of using trade privileges as a political tool, of doling them out when the USSR agreed to cooperate and withdrawing them when the behavior of the USSR was adventuristic."<sup>14</sup> By manipulating "positive" and "negative linkage" in this manner, according to



Kissinger, it was planned "to influence trends in the Soviet economic system" and "push" the USSR toward "responsible international conduct."<sup>15</sup> The new "linkage" concept was thus one of justifying ways to use the situation of detente for interfering in the internal affairs of the USSR and altering its foreign policy in the direction which suited Washington. It is hardly necessary to demonstrate that such plans were doomed to failure in advance.

Since then bourgeois political and economic thinking which is developing the conceptual tenets of "linkage" has been at an impasse. In the 70's and 80's it has only been able to propose the most "effective," so to speak, branch direction of "linkage," which is to be seen in trade in equipment and technology with the socialist nations.

It follows from the above that the "linkage" concept has primarily American "authorization" and that its main focus is on "linking" foreign economic relations with the USSR to other issues. Both the former and the latter stem in great part from the widespread tendency in the West to view the objective worldwide historical process as a struggle between the two "superpowers," in which the theoreticians of "linkage" assign the use of economic relations with the USSR for political purposes the role of one means of assuring victory in this conflict for the imperialist "superpower." This position is well illustrated by the statements of former U.S. Secretary of State A. Haig, an active proponent of "linkage," who has declared that "trade is a political weapon."<sup>16</sup> "The USA," he maintains, "intended and has repeatedly attempted to build its relations with the USSR on the basis of restraint and mutual understanding," but has been unable to do this because of "Soviet interventionism." The latter refers to the positive changes which have occurred in the world in the 70's and 80's: the victory of the revolutions in Afghanistan and Nicaragua and in a large number of African nations, the failure of U.S. military aggression in Vietnam and intensification of the national liberation struggle in El Salvador.<sup>17</sup>

For the other imperialist nations, and the USA's main allies--the leading West European states and Japan--should be mentioned in particular, the tasks involved in the class struggle against socialism are also not abstract concepts. This is why there exist both West European and Japanese versions of "linkage."

The existence of a Japanese version is demonstrated by Japan's support for the anti-Cuban campaign launched by the USA and the curtailing of its trade with Cuba under this pretext and by its use of the USA's assessment of events in Cambodia and Chinese aggression against Vietnam for breaking off Japanese-Vietnamese trade relations. Using Polish events as a cover, Japan has refused to engage in talks on extending Poland's loan repayment periods. Attempts to link the development of political and economic relations to political demands have also been made with respect to the USSR: "return of the northern territories," "the presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan" and the "military threat" to Japan from the USSR.<sup>18</sup> The examples cited demonstrated that the Japanese version of "linkage" in great part reflects Japan's pro-American position on a number of issues of political and economic relations with the socialist nations.

With respect to the West European version, predominately positive indications of "linkage" constitute its most important distinguishing feature. This is due to the fact that the economic importance of economic relations with the socialist nations is greater for Western Europe than for the USA and Japan. This fact, British economist S. Woolcock writes, "is reflected in the general opinion of the governments and representatives of industry that trade with the East is a good thing."<sup>19</sup> For this reason the West European "linkage" (with certain national differences) is softened on the whole and is designed to retain the advantages of economic ties with the socialist states, while developing relations with them under the terms of the West. This would be a good place to cite the viewpoint of the FRG's Minister of Foreign Affairs G.-D. Genscher. "At the short-term level," he believes, "it is impossible to influence USSR policy either with economic incentives or with 'punishment'." It must be understood, however, that economic ties are extremely important for long-term "East-West" relations. It is planned to use "linkage" in the process of developing them, "delicately, pursuing a policy of small steps...."<sup>20</sup>

We have discussed the historical and national aspects of the "linkage" policy. Its theoretical basis, however, is provided by arguments of proponents of the "comparative theory," a vulgar-apologetic school of bourgeois political economy which distorts the nature of and trends in the socioeconomic development of the communist system of production. Representatives of the "comparative school" (E. Neuberger and W. Duffy of the USA, P. Knirsch of the FRG, B. Bracewell-Milnes of England, F. Hayek of Austria, and others) use a comparison of external (and frequently distorted) forms of socialist and capitalist mechanisms as the basis for wrongly interpreting the objectives of socialist development and its driving forces, declaring socialism to be a system "of dominance by ideological criteria over economic" and calling "extensive development," "detailed planning" or "command," "autarky" and so forth its key "elements." One of the main conclusions of the "comparativists" is that the "Soviet-type system of centralized planning of the economy" is imperfect, and this, in the opinion of many of bourgeois economists and political scientists, is forcing the socialist nations to develop economic relations with the West. American economist E. Hayden, for example, expresses "serious doubts that the Soviet type of economic system can stimulate technological progress" and this, according to him, is forcing the CEMA nations to turn to the West.<sup>21</sup> By falsifying the objective reasons for the development of economic ties between states with different social systems in this manner, the bourgeois theoreticians conclude that such ties are advantageous primarily for the socialist nations and consequently, that it is possible to use economic relations for "linkage" purposes.<sup>22</sup>

Based on a "comparative analysis" of the "technological elements" regarded as the system-shaping factors of socialism and capitalism and on the thesis of "technological backwardness of the communist nations," the theoreticians and proponents of "linkage" "detect" its greatest potential in trade in equipment and technology with the socialist nations. The socialist states, they would have us believe, are so interested in Western equipment and technology that they are prepared to make any sort of political concessions to obtain it.<sup>23</sup>

It should be noted that the conclusion from the "comparative analysis" on the weaknesses of the "system of centralized economy" constitutes the most common "theoretical" foundation for the "linkage" concept, fostering the versions of "linkage" with all the different characteristics. The characteristics themselves—"positive" "negative" and "zero"—are a result of the development of bourgeois thinking in specific ideological and political directions. The idea of "zero linkage," for example, stems from divergent constructs of bourgeois political economy, according to which socialism and capitalism are "two separate blocs" whose political, ideological and historical differences "will increase."<sup>24</sup> This is used for drawing the conclusion that a "global conflict" between socialism and capitalism is inevitable and for promoting the rejection of economic relations with the socialist states as a means of strengthening the class enemy economically.<sup>25</sup> In other words, for demonstrating the incompatibility of peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation among nations with different social systems with the ideological and class struggle, which actually justifies the arms race. It is precisely for this reason that ideas of "zero linkage" are widespread primarily in circles representing the interests of the military-industrial complex.

The "convergence" theory, or more precisely, concepts of the emergence of an "above-ideological" "third, new system" and "corallization" in relations between the socialist and capitalist nations, which revive it in particular forms, occupy a special place in the substantiation of the conceptual tenets of "linkage." The proponents of these variations on the convergence constructs (K. Krauss in the FRG, [S. Pizar] in France, and others) attempt to demonstrate that economic relations between the East and West can "transform" socialism into a market economy, entangle it like coral and draw it into the capitalist system of management.<sup>26</sup> The idea of "positive linkage"—enveloping the socialist nations in a network of economic relations for purposes of obtaining political concessions from them "without conflict"—has come into being against this background.<sup>27</sup>

Theses involving the theory of "interdependence" (leading proponents of which are the Americans R. Cooper, J.[sic] Keohane and J. Nye), which became widespread in the West in the 70's, is closely related to the convergent basis for the "linkage" idea. This theory paints a picture of a "unified world" in which all nations are "interdependent" in the area of economics, politics, culture and so forth.<sup>28</sup> Bourgeois science is thereby essentially recognizing objective trends toward the internationalization of economics, politics and life in general, which were revealed long ago by the classic scholars of Marxism-Leninism. Signs of "convergence" can also be seen in the presence of these, however, which make it possible by pulling the "strings of interdependence" of "positive" and "negative linkage" to push the socialist nations "toward more modest goals in foreign policy"<sup>29</sup> "to erode Soviet ideology," "to weaken the USSR's status in the Third World,"<sup>30</sup> and so forth. Proponents of the "interdependence" theory (J. Finlayson and P. Marantz of Canada, S. [Pizar], H. Brown and others) believe that H. Kissinger's first attempt to use the theory's tenets based on the "linkage" concept for achieving the goals mentioned was unsuccessful because it overestimated the level of the USSR's economic dependence upon the West and underestimated Soviet economic and military strength. As applicable to the USSR, the "interdependence" theory can

therefore "operate" only indirectly: "the interdependence between the USSR and Eastern Europe will be reduced by increased interdependence between Eastern Europe and the West" as a result of the development of economic ties with the socialist nations.<sup>31</sup> This unequivocally points to use of the "interdependence" theory for purposes of weakening the USSR's status as the uniting center of the socialist commonwealth.

Imperialism is using a large system of measures and means covered by the doctrine of "differentiated approach" to the socialist states for accomplishing this task in its foreign economic policy.

#### Economic Aspects of the "Differentiated Approach" Doctrine

The "differentiated approach" in imperialism's foreign economic policy toward the socialist nations is nothing other than the differentiated application of "positive", "negative" and "zero linkage." This "approach" essentially began to develop in the West immediately following the formation of the world socialist system, when imperialism found itself faced with the task of undermining and weakening the unity of the socialist commonwealth. Seizing upon the events which occurred in Poland and Hungary in the 50's, the imperialist forces immediately assessed them as confirmation that the above-mentioned goals were achievable. In debates on "Eastern policy" forms in 1956, for example, members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany concluded that "Eastern Europe is no longer monolithic."<sup>32</sup> A similar "revelation" was later made by ruling circles of the USA: "The communist nations no longer form a completely unified bloc on the political level...." And therefore, "they should not be dealt with as a monolithic unit in the area of trade."<sup>33</sup> The doctrine of a "differentiated approach" toward the socialist nations in the economic area was formulated on this basis.

Z. Brzezinski, one of the ardent proponents of this doctrine, expressed himself extremely candidly on its political significance: "American economic policy toward Eastern Europe should be based on two factors: if one of these nations liberalizes its internal political life and makes itself more independent of Soviet influence, it should be rewarded. If this trend is reversed, however, the USA should be prepared to halt trade, stressing the political motives behind such actions."<sup>34</sup> It was considered necessary to retain the policy of trade discrimination with respect to the USSR, however.

From that time right up to the present, "negative linkage" has not disappeared from the sphere of U.S. foreign economic policy toward the USSR, as well as toward the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, Hungary and Cuba. At the same time, in its economic relations with a number of other socialist states the USA has applied either a combination of "negative linkage" and "positive" or predominantly "positive linkage." This has been its policy toward the Chinese People's Republic since the end of the 70's and toward Romania since 1964, for example, and was its policy toward Poland until 1981.<sup>35</sup>

At the present time the "differentiated approach" exists to one degree or another in the foreign economic policy of all the leading imperialist powers in their development of economic relations with nations with a different social system. Only in the USA, however, have the "differentiated approach"

concepts been formulated into a precisely defined official state doctrine whose tenets are realized by means of legally established instruments. American trade laws separate all of the socialist states into several groups "on the basis of the differentiated nature and the internal dynamics of each nation." There is a special strategic course for each nation, the shaping of which takes into account present and potential relations between the specific socialist nation and the USA and its allies, on the one hand, and with the USSR, on the other.<sup>36</sup>

The same arguments of the "comparativists" are used as the theoretical "justification for the differentiated approach concepts." These are carried over to the international aspects of the socialist economic system's development, however, and specifically to the mechanism of socialist economic integration. The conclusion is drawn that the possibility of economic integration of the planned economies is practically "zero,"<sup>37</sup> since "the driving force behind the planning mechanism is the command" or the plan as a purely "political" factor of economic development.<sup>38</sup> It is further stated that if "policy is the key to economic control of the command economy within the national borders, it is also the key to integration of the command economies."<sup>39</sup> And since this is not the case in relations among the socialist nations, it is used in an attempt to demonstrate the economic "baselessness" of international economic collaboration by the socialist states. Proponents of the "differentiated approach" concepts thereby create the impression that it is possible to "break-up" the world socialist system by increasing the economic dependence of individual socialist nations upon the West.

This impression is reinforced with a "Soviet illogical" view of objective trends in the political and economic development of the socialist commonwealth through the prism of the "Soviet hegemony" thesis. American political scientist J. Spero, for example, assesses the establishment of CEMA, the MBES [International Bank for Economic Cooperation], the MIB [International Investment Bank], and all socialist integration measures as a "political game" being played by the USSR to "force" the other socialist states to develop "in the direction desired by the Soviet Union."<sup>40</sup> The "comparativists" and proponents of the "linkage" concepts frequently use such "explanations" of the patterns of socialist economic integration as the basis for concluding that the other socialist nations "are attempting to reduce their economic dependence upon the Soviet Union" and that the objectives of the "differentiated approach" are realistically achievable.<sup>41</sup>

The progressive development of the world socialist system over a period of 30 years and the steady enhancement of its prestige and influence in the world indicate just the opposite, however, despite imperialist attempts to retard the objective course of history.

The "Economic War" Doctrine: The Version in Effect at the End of the 70's and the Beginning of the 80's and the Latest Lessons from History

"...Politically, imperialism is in general an inclination toward violence and toward reaction," V.I. Lenin wrote.<sup>42</sup> And there is nothing surprising about the fact that there has been an increase in this inclination during

those periods in history in which the next progressive changes have occurred in the distribution of political and class forces in the world, changes reflecting the process of capitalism's general crisis. During such periods imperialism resorts to the most diverse means for restoring its positions in the world, among which not the least role is assigned to "economic warfare" against states with different social systems. This was the case following the victory of the October Revolution. It was the case following the establishment of the world socialist system. And it is not surprising that a third "economic war" has been conducted against the socialist nations since the end of the 70's and the beginning of the 80's, following numerous defeats for the world capitalist system in various areas of the anti-imperialist struggle in the 70's.

The main directions and means for the third "economic war" are worked out within the ruling elite of the USA, after which they take the form of American imperialism's official doctrine. It is supported in Western Europe and Japan by members of influential conservative groups and the most reactionary segment of the monopolistic bourgeoisie. The doctrine covers two versions of such a war. One is based on the development of economic relations with the USSR and other socialist nations for purposes of making them economically dependent upon the West and obtaining opportunities for interfering in their internal affairs on this basis. The second involves the complete or selective curtailing of business contacts in various areas.<sup>43</sup> We can see that the "economic war" doctrine combines "linkage" concepts with different characteristics with the "differentiated approach." Its political orientation toward the economic and political weakening of the world socialist system is clear. It is important, however, to stress the fact that while conforming to the course of undermining the material foundation for peaceful coexistence, the "economic war" doctrine is closely linked to the line taken by extreme right-wing forces in the West toward military confrontation with socialism. This is precisely why it was advanced in the USA at the same time as the doctrine of a "limited nuclear war."

American imperialism is attempting to give global scope to the anticommunist strategy, in connection with which a point on coordination of the "Eastern" foreign economic policy of the West or at least the NATO nations is being added to the "economic war" doctrine. H. Reuss, chairman of Congress' Joint Economic Committee, has stated that otherwise "American initiatives in the area of East-West relations appear haphazard and ineffective."<sup>44</sup>

The "ineffectiveness" is due not just to the fact that Washington's actions do not achieve their goals without proper support from its allies. They strike a double blow at American business. It is losing profitable deals. And their execution by companies of other Western nations is worsening the situation of U.S. companies in world markets. This "effect" cannot help generating understandable irritation among American business circles at their government's policy toward the socialist nations, which as early as the 60's was aptly called "self-torture on a national scale" by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State G. Ball.<sup>45</sup>

It is therefore perfectly clear that in its implementation of the principles of this doctrine the USA is forced to seek ways to shift the burden of the material losses from its implementation by discriminating in various ways

against other nations of the West. The focus is both on softening the dissatisfaction of American businessmen with their limitations in the area of economic relations with the socialist nations and on strengthening the USA's status in imperialism's internal competitive struggle. Even under the J. Carter Administration, when members of the U.S. Congress' Office of Technology Assessment were working out questions pertaining to the coordination of the United States' foreign economic policy with its partners, they made calculations which showed that "trade with the East" was far more important to allies of the USA than to America and that its curtailment would entail direct economic losses to the West European nations and Japan.<sup>46</sup> It is clear from this that ruling American circles understand very well that the USA's main rivals in the world capitalist economy will pay for the "economic war" with socialism.

And so, the "economic war" doctrine reflects three main strategic principles of American imperialism's foreign policy: in the first place, the weakening of the class enemy in the person of the socialist commonwealth nations; in the second place, the undermining of the material foundation for detente and the creation of the conditions necessary to further increase the profits of the military-industrial complex for the sake of the most reactionary group of the American monopolistic bourgeoisie; and in the third place, the strengthening of the USA's economic position in the world capitalist system. Carrying out this triune task, the American Administration has since the end of the 70's deliberately curtailed economic relations with the USSR and a number of other socialist nations, attempting to implement its policy of "driving wedges" into the socialist commonwealth with differentiated "linkage" and making active use of NATO, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, COCOM and annual high-level meetings of leaders of the seven leading imperialist powers to draw its allies over to its course.

Implementation of the ideas contained in the "economic war" doctrine has now produced certain results for the participants in this undertaking. American companies suffered losses totalling around 25.5 billion dollars during the period 1980-1982 (at the very height of the "economic war" against socialism), for example.<sup>47</sup> Japan, which accepted the American foreign economic policy more actively than the leading West European nations, has suffered substantial material losses: the nation lost a minimum of ten long-term Soviet orders amounting to 100 million dollars each in 1980 alone.<sup>48</sup> According to some calculations, losses suffered by Japan as a result of its participation in the American sanctions against the USSR had reached 4 billion dollars by 1983.<sup>49</sup>

Overall, according to calculations of the American experts, the proposed reduction in exports of industrial goods from the developed capitalist nations to the USSR in 1982 and 1983 could inflict a loss of 4.5 billion dollars upon the Soviet economy, but would at the same time reduce the combined gross national products of those nations by 30 billion dollars.<sup>50</sup>

Against whom then is the "economic war" with socialism aimed? And in this case it not just a matter of comparing the material losses of the target of economic aggression with those of its initiators and participants. The course pursued by reactionary forces of the West led by the American ruling elite to

undermine economic ties with the USSR and other socialist nations has evoked a wave of dissatisfaction among business circles in the capitalist nations. Friction has developed in the American Administration, which, as pointed out in the aforementioned study "Trade and Technology," has clearly split up into proponents of economic confrontation with socialism and those who maintain that the "carrot and stick" policy is ineffective.<sup>51</sup> Internal imperialist disagreements on matters of economic relations with the socialist states have presently grown to unprecedented scale. They have reached the point of open conflicts and, as American researcher A. Stent writes on the matter, "have actually gone from being problems of East-West relations to problems of West-West relations."<sup>52</sup>

With respect to the weakening of the world socialist system and the undermining of the Soviet economy, which were counted on by the authors and supporters of the "economic war" doctrine, the American newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST has summed up the results: "That which was supposed to demonstrate the economic vulnerability of the Russians--the time required to complete construction of the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod Gas Pipeline--has actually turned into a demonstration of the USSR's economic strength."<sup>53</sup>

The lessons of history have been repeated, confirming once again the complete futility of imperialist foreign economic policy. Pseudoscientific self-deception, methodological distortions and wishful thinking in the "theoretical" justification of the "linkage" concepts have led to the absolute baselessness of the practical recommendations of theoreticians and proponents of "linkage." Not one of numerous attempts to put the "linkage" mechanism into action has achieved what it was calculated to achieve. This fact is understood very well by many Western scholars and representatives of business and ruling circles, among which the number of opponents of this concept is growing. "While there is much in the Soviet system which we do not like," American A. Dallin writes, "it is not the business of American foreign policy to alter another nation's regime."<sup>54</sup> G. Agnelli, director of Fiat, Austrian political scientist K. Bell, economists R. Vernon (USA), F. Holtzman and R. Plender (England), A. Stent, S. Woolcock and others also oppose the "linkage" concepts.

Some advocates of the "linkage" concept and adherents of the "linkage" policy are now in a state of some confusion about what sort of principles the "Eastern" foreign economic policy should be based on. J. Nye, for example, writes that in the USSR "we shall be dealing with... a society which is difficult to understand." And we should conduct a "sensible long-range policy" toward it, guided by the strategy of a "controlled balance of power." Among other things, this calls for "peaceful dialogue with the USSR," using something like "linkage" of a moral and ethical quality, whereby Soviet foreign policy which is unsuitable to the USA is linked to an inevitable drop in the USSR's prestige in the eyes of the American public.<sup>55</sup>

There also exists another view of things, however, which differs sharply from the vague reasoning cited in the directness and clarity with which it formulates the tasks. C. Bertram (director of the International Strategic Studies Institute in London), for example, calls for further increasing the arms race



and continuing the conflict between the two "superpowers" on this basis. He stresses the fact that in this age of "political Darwinism," only that state which has military superiority over the enemy can hold the "super-power title."<sup>56</sup> The experience of today demonstrates that sentiments toward the second trend predominate in ruling circles of the leading imperialist power.

In this situation it is becoming increasingly important to coordinate the foreign political and foreign economic positions of the socialist nations toward the West, which will unquestionably make a contribution to the normalization of international relations and the strengthening of the material basis for peaceful coexistence.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. A. Stent, "From Embargo to Ostpolitik: The Political Economy of West German-Soviet Relations, 1955-1980," London, 1981, pp 9-12; S. Huntington, "Trade, Technology and Leverage: Economic Diplomacy" in FOREIGN POLICY, No 32, 1978, p 65.
2. A. Stent, op. cit., pp 9-12.
3. "Papers Relating to the Foreign Policy of USA, 1921," Washington, Vol II, 1936, p 768.
4. A.Z. Carr, "Truman, Stalin and Peace," New York, 1950, pp 25-26.
5. V.I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 153.
6. In accordance with it, political concessions should be achieved from the socialist nations by developing economic relations with them. The bourgeois literature also calls "positive linkage" the "carrot" policy.
7. J. Hardt, "United States-Soviet Trade Policy" ("Issues in East-West Commercial Relations," a compendium of papers submitted to the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress on 12 January 1978, Washington, 1979, p 277).
8. "Negative linkage," or the "stick" policy, entails obtaining political concessions from the socialist nations by taking economic sanctions against them.
9. S. Huntington, op. cit., p 65.
10. See "SSSR-SShA: ekonomicheskkiye otnosheniya" [USSR-USA: Economic Relations], Izdatelstvo "Nauka," 1976, p 98.
11. Long-term credit was extended to Poland through the U.S. Export-Import Bank in 1957, for example, and control over the export of American goods to Poland was reduced. The USA then granted Poland most favored nation

status in 1960, and issued a general license for the export of a number of goods to Romania, and issued medium-term loans to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland in 1964.

12. Significantly, as early as the beginning of the 50's the bourgeois press began expressing the idea that with its "cold war" policy the USA was ignoring the economic interests of Western Europe. When Labor Party leader Bevin analyzed the causes of increasing unemployment in England and included in them reduced British exports to the socialist nations, he asked the question: "Whom is the 'cold war' directed against, Great Britain or the USSR?" (NEW YORK TIMES, 16 June 1952).
13. H. Kissinger, "The White House Years," Boston, 1979, p 4.
14. H. Kissinger, "Trading With Russians" (THE NEW REPUBLIC, June 1982, No 3516, p 15).
15. Quoted in: G. Warren Nutter, "Kissinger's Grand Design," Washington, 1975, p 78; T. Draper, "Appeasement and Detente" (COMMENTARY, February 1976, p 29).
16. Cited from PRAVDA, 31 June 1981.
17. "East-West Relations--U.S. Security Assistance: Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs," House of Representatives 97th Congress, 2nd session, 2 March 1982, Washington, 1982, pp 23, 23-24, 4-5.
18. YOMIURI, 23 August 1983.
19. S. Woolcock, "Western Policies on East-West Trade," London, etc.: RIIA, RKP, 1982, p 49.
20. G.-D. Genscher, "Towards an Overall Western Strategy for Peace" (FOREIGN AFFAIRS, No 1, Fall, 1982, pp 54, 58).
21. E. Hayden, "Technology Transfer to East Europe: U.S. Corporate Experience," New York, 1974, pp 7, 18.
22. For a detailed discussion of the "comparative school" read Yu. Olsevich, "A 'Comparative Analysis' of Economic Systems and Developed Socialism" (VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 8, 1981). This kind of logic is adhered to in the reasoning of economists (V. Bazyuk) and R. Roosa of the USA, F. Hanson of England, A. Adahl of Sweden and A. Gutowski of the FRG, political scientists G. Bertsch and K. Gershman of the USA, and others.
23. The idea has even been expressed that "the USSR set out on the path of detente and the Helsinki Accords because it wanted to obtain Western technology" (G. Bertsch, "East-West Technology Transfer in Perspective," Department of Political Science and Dean Rusk Center for International and Comparative Law, University of Georgia, USA; prepared for delivery at the 11th International Political Science World Congress, Moscow, 1979, p 8).

24. S. Poliwoda, "Joint East-West Marketing and Production Ventures," Aldershot, 1981, p 4.
25. The concept of a "global conflict" was advanced in the USA during the "cold war" years. Its supporters maintained that "contemporary international relations are determined by an inevitable conflict between communism and the free world..." (R. Straus-Hupe, W. Kintner, J. Dougherty and A. Cottrela, "Protracted Conflict," New York, 1963, p 142). Similar ideas can be found in contemporary bourgeois literature. For example, the publication "Trade and Technology" prepared by experts in the U.S. Office of Technological Assessment, the State Department, the CIA, the Departments of Defense and of the Treasury, states "it is doubtful that fundamentally antagonistic relations between the East and West can be improved in the near future," "and relations between the USSR and the USA are and will always be conflicting" ("Trade and Technology: Hearing Before the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, U.S. Senate, 96th Congress, 1st session, 28 November 1979," Washington, 1980, p 2, "East-West Technology Transfer," pp 117, 236).
26. Read about this also in V. Pankov's "Social Reformism and International Economic Relations" (MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 2, 1980).
27. Such positions are taken by economists S. Bialer and J. Afferica (USA), political scientists (S. Pizar), H. Brown and others.  
  
H. Brown (U.S. Minister of Defense in the J. Carter Administration, presently engaged in political studies), for example, proposes an entire strategy of "positive linkage." Rejecting the idea of "economic warfare" as a means of exerting political influence upon the socialist states, he proposes creating a system of economic relations with the CEMA nations, keeping them 4-5 years behind the West in "key technology" and, periodically assessing "the conduct" of the Eastern partners, adjusting the foreign economic policy of the USA in cooperation with the allies (H. Brown, "Economic Policy and National Security," ORBIS, No 2, 1982, pp 387-389).
28. R. Keohane and J.S. Nye, "Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition," Boston, 1977, pp 25-29.
29. T. Draper, op. cit., p 29.
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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BAN ON 'HIRED MURDERERS' VS. 'NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS' URGED

LD191246 Moscow TASS in English 1107 GMT 19 Oct 85

[Text] New York, October 19 (TASS)--Article by TASS correspondent Sergey Baybakov.

A heated debate has been held at the Sixth Committee (Legal) of the 40th session of the U.N. General Assembly on concluding an international convention banning the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries.

The developing nations and the socialist countries which backed it were pressing for the adoption of an international document that would outlaw the activity of hired murderers directed against national liberation movements. This was stressed by the delegates from Angola, the German Democratic Republic, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Syria, and many other countries.

The forces who benefit from the use of mercenaries, specifically the United States, resort to the services of the "dogs of war", as they are sometimes called, on an increasingly greater scale, said Lesotho's representative Thabo Williams van Tonder. They hypocritically call the mercenaries "freedom fighters". It is these "fighters" who murder women and children in Nicaragua, perpetrate grave crimes in Angola and Mozambique, and are involved in the attempts to partition Lebanon.

The future convention would be called upon to effectively defend the developing countries from rude imperialist interference. The pledge by states not to finance and train mercenaries should become one of the major provisions of the draft, the Lesotho delegate pointed out.

The United States and its Western allies opposed this approach. It is not surprising since their approval of the convention would be tantamount to the recognition of the illegitimacy of the policy of state-sponsored terrorism implemented through mercenaries, while the American Central Intelligence Agency would have to face trial for the recruiting, financing, and training of hired killers. That is why the U.S. representative at the committee sought to reduce to naught the international community's efforts to eliminate mercenarism.

The USSR's representative, B.N. Nechayev, pointed to the inadmissibility of the attempts by Western countries, led by the United States, to shirk responsibility for links with mercenarism. The Soviet delegation, like the majority of delegations, is of the opinion that the practice of using mercenaries represents a crime against peace and security.

The USSR favors the earliest adoption of an important international document that would place on states concrete commitments to curb mercenarism, he points out.

/9871

CSO: 1812/18

GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

KEYS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH: INDEPENDENCE FROM WEST, STRONG DEFENSE

Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 85 pp 2-3

[Article by V. Kulikov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and doctor of economic sciences, under the rubric "By a Course of Accelerating Socioeconomic Development": "Rate and Quality"]

[Text] The conception of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development on the basis of scientific-technical progress formulated by the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is aimed at achieving a new qualitative condition of our society, and in the broadest sense of the word. In posing the task of such acceleration, the Central Committee has in mind not simply increasing the rate of growth of our national economy. The topic is new quality of development, rapid progress in strategically important directions, structural reorganization of production, conversion to the intensive track, effective forms of management, and fuller solutions to social problems.

Naturally, the development of Soviet society will be determined to a decisive degree by qualitative advances in the economy, its intensification, and increased efficiency.

1.

The Soviet Union today has a powerful, comprehensively developed economy. Suffice it to say that the volume of fixed production capital in the national economy has passed 1.6 trillion rubles while national income used has exceeded 500 billion rubles. Soviet industry today produces more output than was produced in 1950 by all the world's countries together. In many directions of production, science, and technology, the USSR is a world leader. A far-reaching national economic structure has been created in the Soviet Union; this includes the newest sectors generated by the scientific-technical revolution.

Social programs are being successfully realized. A great deal has been accomplished in improving housing and cultural-domestic conditions and the material well-being of the people on the whole. Real incomes per capita have increased more than sixfold since 1940.

The country has skilled cadres of workers, specialists, and scientists.



In short, there have been successes in the country's socioeconomic development, and the successes are large and apparent. But one must not fail to see that starting in the 1970's (especially in the second half of the 1970's and the early 1980's), economic growth slowed down.

The reduced rate of economic growth had a negative effect on the economy's balance, including on the market of consumer goods and services. The arithmetic here is elementary enough. Monetary payments to the population increase by approximately 2.5-3 percent every year. This means that in order to maintain the ratio of demand and supply which has developed, labor productivity must be raised by the same amount, and in order to improve the state of affairs in the market of consumer goods and services it must be raised by a substantially greater amount.

The possibilities of carrying out social programs which socialist society cannot curtail inevitably depend on the rate of economic development. The acceleration of scientific-technical progress, comprehensive intensification of public production on this basis, and a sharp rise in its efficiency make it possible to establish a dependable foundation for a significant advance in resolving pressing social problems, which has a most positive impact on people's mood and on their attitude toward public affairs.

The slowdown in rate of production growth was also reflected in the course of our economic competition with the capitalist states. Whereas the gap in level of labor productivity between industry of the USSR and that of America decreased by 9 percent in the decade from 1960 to 1970, in the next 10 years it was reduced by just 2 percent, and in the early 1980's the ratio hardly changed at all.

In this connection we cannot help recalling the Leninist thesis that superiority in labor productivity is the main thing for the victory of the new order. That is why the party is setting the challenge of reaching the highest world level in labor productivity. It is hard to overestimate the sociopolitical consequences of such an achievement. Successfully meeting this challenge will substantially strengthen the position of socialism in the world and its attraction to others will greatly increase.

The need to accelerate socioeconomic development also makes it necessary to achieve full technical and technological independence from the capitalist countries, above all in strategically important directions. This acceleration is ultimately dictated by the interests of strengthening the defensive might of our state. In a report at the conference in the CPSU Central Committee on questions of accelerating scientific-technical progress, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union will henceforth make maximum efforts to stop the arms race but in the face of the aggressive policy and threat of imperialism we must not permit military superiority over us. This is the will of the Soviet people.

In this way, the fundamental acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development on the basis of scientific-technical progress is caused both by internal and external circumstances.

In conditions of the reduced rate of economic growth, the psychology of making peace with the developing situation began to spread among scientists and managers. This happened under the flag of realism. And, a number of unfavorable objective factors were pointed out (increased prices of raw materials and energy as a result of changes in the corresponding sectors in the North and the East, the deterioration of the demographic situation, increased expenditures for ecological needs, and so on); and, of course, these factors could not fail to influence economic development. Nonetheless, no one could or can prove that the action of these factors cannot be compensated for.

There was also talk about the strength of forces of inertia in the economy. From this it was concluded that it would hardly be possible to stop the declining trend in the rate of growth (replacing the minus with a plus).

In itself a reference to forces of inertia is justifiable, but the whole point is that these forces are not absolute in nature. In the economy they are opposed by cumulative processes, where a positive advance in one sphere spreads with a cumulative effect to other spheres.

Life long ago disproved the idea that a declining trend in the rate of economic growth cannot be stopped: while in 1982 the increase in labor productivity in industry totaled 2.1 percent, in 1983 the figure was 3.6 percent, and in 1984 -- 3.8 percent.

At times it has also been asserted that for a large-scale economy such as the USSR economy has become, a reduced rate of growth is supposedly natural and not dangerous, since each percentage point of gain is worth much more.

Of course such an increase can take place. Thus, while there was a significant drop in the average annual increase in national income in the USSR in 1971-1980 as compared to 1951-1960, the average annual absolute increase in national income totaled 18 billion rubles (in 1970 prices) and 12.2 billion rubles (in 1950 prices), respectively. One percentage point of increase in national income produced in 1982 was equal to almost 10 percentage points of increase in national income in 1950. Nonetheless, despite all the significance of absolute amounts of increase, in themselves they are unable to insure proper dynamism and new quality of social development.

But let us return to the question of what led to the reduced rate of economic growth. Let us note above all that a comprehensive analysis conducted by collective efforts showed that there was no fatal inevitability to this decline. The main cause of the difficulties in economic development was that the economy was restricted within the framework of primarily extensive growth, although its potential was already largely exhausted. From this followed the principled conclusion that it was necessary to compensate for unfavorable factors and accelerate movement on the basis of comprehensive intensification of social production. This is genuine realism in economic policy.

In his report at the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum Comrade M.S. Gorbachev emphasized: "The task of accelerating the rate of growth, and moreover,

fundamentally, is completely feasible if the intensification of the economy and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress are made the focus of our work; management, planning, and structural and investment policy are reorganized; organization and discipline are raised everywhere; and the style of activities is improved in a fundamental way."

3.

In advancing the task of accelerating socioeconomic development, the CPSU Central Committee indicates ways to successfully perform it. This refers also to increasing the rate of national economic growth and achieving a new quality of our development. The rate of economic development is proposed to be increased while fundamentally reorganizing the structure of the national economy and insuring priority for the sectors upon which scientific-technical progress depends, the agroindustrial complex, and the production and social infrastructure.

The main link in the party's economic strategy is a course of accelerating scientific-technical progress. We are talking here of replacing evolutionary processes with revolutionary changes and such acceleration as would make it possible to carry on new technical reconstruction of the national economy and qualitatively transform the material-technical base of society.

These new approaches, which insure a sharp turn toward intensification of the economy, are included in the draft Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period to the Year 2000, which will be reviewed at the forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress.

Today the main emphasis is on the technical reequipping of enterprises. This is a result of the fact that many existing enterprises have not been technically reequipped for many years and a significant part of their production capital has become obsolete. In addition, capital investments aimed at reconstruction give approximately twice the return as new construction. The draft of the Basic Directions therefore envisions a substantial increase in the total volume of capital investments of the proportion of capital aimed at reconstruction -- from one-third to one-half.

The basis of scientific-technical progress is the machine building industry. The party attaches great importance to its development. The question of measures to fundamentally increase the technical level and quality of machine building output and to develop machine building in the 12th Five-Year Plan and in the future till the year 2000 was recently studied at the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. The adopted decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers envisions priority development of the machine building complex and creation of the necessary conditions for rapid conversion to producing new generations of machines, equipment, and instruments capable of fundamentally increasing labor productivity in the national economy. Capital investments for developing machine building in 1986-1990 exceed the amount of capital incorporated in the 11th Five-Year Plan by a factor of 1.8. And at least half of all investments will go for the technical reequipment and reconstruction of existing enterprises and renewal of the active part of fixed capital.

The priority development of the machine building complex will make it possible to create the necessary material-technical base for reequipping the national economy on a qualitatively new basis by increasing the volumes of production of highly efficient machines, equipment, and instruments.

Emphasis is also being given to all-out conservation of resources. Increasing the extraction of fuel and raw materials is becoming increasingly difficult today. Hence, everything that is extracted from the interior and everything that is produced must be used more economically. Resource-saving technologies must be widely introduced: this costs 2-3 times less than increasing the extraction of fuel and raw materials. The party has posed the task of satisfying 75-80 percent of the increased need for fuel and raw and processed materials by conserving them. This is also intensification: producing more output with fewer expenditures. Economy measures are our path to wealth, our task of tasks.

A great deal of significance is attached to increasing output quality. It is no secret that in the past the high rates in certain sectors were at times maintained by reducing quality. Today this path is intolerable. The low quality of output -- and even more so, defective goods -- is not only a form of plundering material resources and not only a waste of labor but also a serious obstacle to intensifying production and accelerating scientific-technical progress.

The quality of output is the most objective and generalizing indicator of scientific-technical progress, the level of production organization, and labor sophistication and discipline. Shortcomings in this line do serious socioeconomic and moral-political harm. The party poses the question in this way: output quality should be the object of not only professional but national pride.

It has been recognized as necessary to make our economy maximally receptive to scientific-technical progress and to insure that all economic elements have a vital interest in doing this and are unfailingly accountable for introducing the achievements of science and technology and reaching progressive world levels. Carrying out the measures envisioned by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Extensively Disseminating New Methods of Management and Intensifying their Impact on Accelerating Scientific-Technical Progress" will be an important step in performing these fundamental tasks and creating an integral system of management of the national economy which will meet new demands.

As we see, the acceleration of socioeconomic development encompasses a broad circle of problems: economic, organizational, and social problems; the development of culture and education; and the activities of the top echelons of management and each link of the national economy. The party has worked out a program which guarantees the implementation of the course adopted.

At the present time we may consider that the simplified ideas held earlier concerning the paths and time of society's movement toward communism, originating in unfounded directives on the short duration of the socialist

phase and the possibility of forcing its pace, have been overcome. But the duration of the socialist stage by no means signifies a slowdown of development in this stage. By nature socialism is a highly dynamic social organism and the question is merely to fully utilize all its potential possibilities and all its historical advantages.

12424

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

'REAGAN DOCTRINE' CONTINUES U.S. AGGRESSIVE FOREIGN POLICY

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 19 Sep 85 pp 1-9

[Article by V. Bolshakov: "Doctrine of 'Crusaders'"]

[Text] The U.S. press has been advertising a new "doctrine" for some time. James Reston described it as one whereby the United States would act in support of any state or any group fighting communism anywhere in the world.

'Big Stick' Again

The authors of the doctrine have not invented gunpowder. It springs from the old imperial ambitions of the U.S. ruling quarters which have more than once told mankind that God himself has cast Washington in the role of world leader with all implications following therefrom. That was the underlying reasoning behind the "Monroe Doctrine." Summing it up back in 1895, the then Secretary of State Richard Olney said that the U.S. was, as a matter of fact, the master of its continent, and its will was law for those within its sphere of influence. (Let me remark, in passing, that Secretary of State Weinberger bluntly stated in a television interview in August, 1985, that the "Monroe Doctrine" had not been phased out and that it was still "doing good service" to Washington in the Western Hemisphere. The Pentagon chief must have refrained from citing the invasion of Grenada as a case in point.

There was the "Wilson Doctrine" that appeared in 1919, that is, soon after the First World War and the victorious Great October Revolution in Russia. Under it, the U.S. was to use all its power to make "the world safe for democracy," in other words, to prevent socialist revolutions, by force of arms, if necessary. The "Wilson Doctrine," notably, inspired the U.S. armed invasion of the Soviet Republic.

Later on, it was put at the bedrock of virtually all of the U.S. foreign policy doctrines of the 20th century--from the "Truman Doctrine" of 1947, otherwise known as the "Containment of Communism, all the way to the "doctrine for the defence of vital interests" or "the Carter Doctrine of 1979." The latter one was, as a matter of fact, the first official reaffirmation that the U.S. was now extending the "Monroe Doctrine" to just about the whole world. One could well see that, in particular, from the priorities set for the "Rapid Deployment Force," established under the "Carter Doctrine," which has been found to apply even to the states which had never "asked" Washington to defend them.

The list of Washington's most aggressive doctrines would be incomplete without mentioning one produced by the Secretary of State in the Eisenhower Administration John Foster Dulles, the "Rollback of Communism" or "Liberation of Eastern Europe." Under it, the U.S. did not only organise the action of counter-revolutionary forces in the German Democratic Republic in 1953 and in Hungary in 1956, but created a ramified infrastructure of political, financial, propaganda and other support of the "fighters of communism" comprising all reactionaries in exile, including Hitler's henchmen who had fled to the West to escape trial by their own people. Those were the men that the secret services of the U.S. and of its allies established close connections with, witness the operation of the CIA's Munich-based subversion centres--"Radio Liberty" and "Radio Free Europe." Some "international" organisations were also created, like an "assembly of captive nations," which were financed through the CIA and State Department channels and operated as the "governments in exile" of East European countries, China, Cuba and some Soviet republics.

All this system has been used over and over again for subversive operations against socialist countries. One could see that demonstrated by the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia and those of the early 1980's in Poland.

So that was new about it in the U.S. intention announced by President Reagan in his State of the Union Address of 6 February 1985 to support counter-revolutionary bands "in all continents from Afghanistan to Nicaragua?" The "new" thing was that the "Reagan Doctrine" has institutionalised outright intervention in the affairs of other nations, notably, with a view to deposing their existing system of government, as an official long-term U.S. strategy.

During his first term of office (from 1981 to 1984), the Reagan Administration granted 80 million dollars' worth of aid to the Nicaraguan "contras" (through private channels, they got 17 million dollars in 1984 alone) and some 600 million to the Afghan dushmans, not to speak of secret U.S. aid to practically all contingents of world reaction.

The "Reagan Doctrine" proclaims that the U.S. is no longer disposed to confine itself to undercover subversive operations--this is the long-standing ambition of the ultra-conservative elements which have gained strength under the present administration. Now they are going to make it "public," subsidising counter-revolution out of the official federal budget. In his speech in San Francisco last February, Secretary of State Shultz, elaborating on the "Reagan Doctrine," explained that the doctrine of "U.S. national security" would form now on imply outright confrontation with socialism and national liberation movements on a world scale.

#### Taking the Bit Between Their Teeth

In an article published last spring in the influential journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS, George Shultz even went farther. To justify "aid to freedom fighters," he wrote that if the United States turned its back on them, that would mean that it accepted the Soviet view that communist revolutions are irreversible. Thus the U.S. administration made it clear that it would not hesitate to challenge history itself. Washington makes no secret of its desire to recarve the political map of the world to its liking.

Unfortunately, these are not only anti-communist rhetoric. Here are the facts.

The ultra-right WASHINGTON TIMES has reported with pleasure that since January 1985 the U.S. Congress has lifted the ban on aid to the "contras" and approved the allocation of 27 million dollars for "non-military" aid to them. (It should be noted that the repeal of the Boland Amendment that came shortly afterwards enabled the CIA to supply arms to them.)

U.S. Congress also lifted the ban on passing CIA intelligence information to "contras" forces; scrapped the Clark Amendment, thus sanctioning the CIA programme for aid to anti-government groups in Angola; sanctioned the granting of multimillion aid to "anti-communist rebels in Cambodia" (This implies 5 million dollars worth of economic and military aid to the Son Sann-Sihanouk "coalition" in 1985-1986. In 1983-1984 the "coalition" received through various channels "aid" worth more than 30 million dollars); and supported open implementation of the 250-million-dollar programme of aid to the counter-revolutionary Afghan rebels. Besides these "open" allocations to fund the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the CIA is planning to spend on these purposes another 300 million dollars through its own channels.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES said that all this was the main achievement of the administration in the field of foreign policy this year.

In a typical American businesslike manner, the United States has begun to lay a solid organisational base under the new doctrine. The foundation was laid during the first term of Reagan's presidency. In January, 1983, after President Reagan said in the British Parliament that the United States was launching a crusade for democracy and that the aim of that crusade was "to leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash-heap of history," the President issued Directive 77. In accordance with that document, the Washington "crusaders" set up their headquarters called "a special public diplomacy planning group." It included four interdepartmental groups--on international information, international politics, international broadcasting and public relations. An organisation called "National Endowment for Democracy" was set up and became the main centre for financing pro-American political parties, trade unions, youth and other mass organisations, the press, scientific exchange programmes and the sending of "unfriendly countries" of USIA propaganda literature. Since its foundation, the National Endowment for Democracy has been actively handing out dollars to promote "democracy" American style. It subsidised the election campaign of the party which now rules Grenada, the Nicaraguan opposition newspaper LA PRENSA, the youth pseudo-festival in Jamaica, programmes for "study" and travelling in the United States by all sorts of shady characters from Latin America, Asia and Africa, and participation by renegades who emigrated from the socialist countries in all sorts of anti-communist and anti-Soviet "symposia." This "public diplomacy," which often leads to direct interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, including the socialist countries, was also part of the "Reagan doctrine." Now it will be completed with "public terrorism."



No wonder last July the United States drastically increased allocations to all secret services, especially the CIA. The latter's boss, William Casey, is now considered to be "the second most powerful CIA director after Allen Dulles."

Regular reviews of counter-revolutionary bands, which Mr Casey makes during his "inspection trips" to South East Asia, Central America and Africa, clearly serve to show that the CIA has been given the task of co-ordinating the actions of these U.S.-paid forces.

### "Public Terrorism"

Very indicative hearings took place on 8 May in the Senate Appropriations Committee's subcommittee on overseas operations under the chairmanship of the Republican R. Kasten. Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security Affairs R. Armitage spoke at them. He said, when asked about whom the administration regarded as "freedom fighters," that "the enemy of our enemy will be confident in our friendship if he shares our ideals in his opposition to our enemy." The criterion, as was obvious from his testimonies, boils down to how firmly the "enemy of their enemy" adheres to the positions of anti-communism. And once Washington decides he does adhere "firmly," then, according to Armitage, "the only real question is the kind of support to be lent: overt or covert, in arms or medicines, money or food."

In the course of the hearings it turned out that the idea of a law bill to set up a "freedom fighters aid fund" for anti-communist "resistance groups" all over the world, fashioned after the "national democracy support fund," had been mulled over in the Senate with the administration's prompting.

Senators G. Humphrey and M. Wallop went a step further and suggested that the White House create a "coordinating bureau under the President for considering the possibilities of aiding the cause of freedom fighters throughout the world" (my emphasis-V.B.). In fact, this agency had been created. At the end of July there took place the first meeting of a special group to combat terrorism, led by U.S. Vice-President G. Bush. Information has just leaked into the press that the U.S. National Security Council is directly guiding the actions of bands of "contras" trying, in accordance with a CIA and White House scenario, to overthrow the lawful government of sovereign Nicaragua. In particular, the confidential letter that was sent to Congress by the President's national security adviser R. MacFarlane and made public a few days ago by AP, bears this out. The sought-for "fund" is also being set up.

Something like that was undertaken in Nixon's presidency under the "Guan doctrine." That game became part of the "Reagan doctrine." But the bets are now higher. The Pentagon has asked its "brain tank," the Rand Corporation, to work up a "strategy of using pro-Western intermediaries for actions in the Third World." To judge by the recent seminars at Rand, the strategy presupposes the use of "ally states" for: "Intervention in necessary areas far from our borders"; "intervention in adjoining areas jointly with the USA"; "support of pro-Western insurgents in countries bordering thereon." In this Pentagon gendarme corps Rand intends to include Israel, South Korea, Taiwan, Honduras and a number of other states. Also categorised as "intermediaries"

are "insurgents" ready to fight against a state hostile to the West," that is, counterrevolutionary bands. An infrastructure for "public terrorism" is thus being gradually prepared in the USA. It is precisely with this aim that the CIA is conducting a unification of motley bands of "freedom fighters" via its channels. Thus, a headquarters of an anti-communist "resistance international," the top leaders of which are CIA agents from among renegades expelled from the socialist states, has been opened in Paris. In Angola, in the zone controlled by the rebel UNITA group, there took place this summer an assembly of leaders of Nicaraguan "contras," Afghan dushmans, Cuban "gusanos" and other counter-revolutionaries, who announced the creation of a "democratic international."

The "gusanos" from 30 August to 1 September also held their own "congress" in the capital of Venezuela under the "strategic slogan" of "preparation for democracy." The strategy of new provocations against Cuba is obviously Washington-prompted. Crowning the series of these "unification efforts" was this month's Texas get-together of the extremely rightwing World Anti-Communist League. Its leaders hastened to declare their full support for all counter-revolutionary bands, to whom Washington's aid was promised, and announced a "worldwide fund-raising campaign" for "resistance movements." According to the WACL's leader D. Singlaub, "White House officials" had "pointed out" the need for such a campaign.

It is not surprising that the WACL received from the White House a greetings message as warm as those that had earlier come in to the UNITA and "gusanos" gatherings.

The blood-stained murderers Washington is cynically proclaiming "freedom fighters," "human rights champions"...is this not an indicator of the double-facedness of the latter-day U.S. "anti-communist crusaders"?!

The fresh-baked Washington doctrine is not merely a refurbished edition of long-bankrupt U.S. foreign policy doctrines. It is the bellicose credo of the most reactionary circles of U.S. imperialism trying to retard the march of world history by force. This doctrine in our thermonuclear age is extremely dangerous and sounds like a total discord with nations' striving to live in peace and security and choose their own path of development independently. On the other hand, the "Reagan doctrine" also demonstrates a weakness of imperialism in a way. Its political thought is incapable of suggesting to mankind any attractive alternative but a world arranged according to the ungle law where brute force determines everything.

(PRAVDA, September 19. In full.)

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. BLAMED FOR PROBLEMS OF DEBTOR COUNTRIES

LD072228 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 27 Oct 85

[TASS headline: "Poison Disguised as Aid"]

[Text] Moscow, 7 October TASS--By TASS news analyst Sergei Federov.

Long before the beginning of the 40th annual session of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), opening in Seoul on Tuesday [8 October], American propaganda media launched a noisy campaign of publicizing the U.S "good intentions" with regard to debtor countries.

Administration officials and financiers prattled about Washington's desire to help the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to service their debts, currently estimated at about a trillion dollars, and promised to establish a "special fund" of 5-6 billion dollars to raise the rates of economic growth of the Third World countries and create conditions that would enable them to meet their financial obligations.

On the eve of the Seoul meeting, however, the United States, acting without much ado, went back on most of its promises. Or, rather, these promises had been made in order to abate the pitch of anti-American sentiments and silence those who are unhappy with the credit policies of the IMF and the World Bank. American representatives in Seoul now talk about tougher terms for granting loans and demand control over the national economies of recipient countries.

Experience shows, however, that no state, that relied on "aid" and "advice" of the IMF and the World Bank, has improved its financial position. On the contrary, meeting the demands of American "advisers" for the multiple devaluation of national currencies, lifting of state subsidies for foodstuffs, oil products, education and health services, and cuts in allocations for social needs have made and are making millions of working people poorer and unemployment higher.

The consent to lift restrictions on the import of Western manufactured goods, also advised by the IMF and the IBRD, not only undermines many branches of the national economy in their developing countries, but also leads to rapid depletion of their currency reserves. In fact, the IMF grants loans not for establishing national industrial enterprises, but for servicing debts, which benefits the fund and Western banks.

The policies of the IMF and IBRD give cause for indignation to many Third World countries where their loans are increasingly often described as "deadly poison." The actions by Western creditors, said N.S. Urù, one of the heads of Nigeria's Association of Employers, can be described as a plot aimed at tightening the financial noose.

[Word indistinct] more countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America see the way out of the present difficulties in the introduction of a new international economic order, in the struggle (?against) the fettering terms of foreign debt servicing.

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WESTERN EUROPE

BROAD-BASED NATURE OF PEACE MOVEMENT STRESSED

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 8, Aug 85 pp 114-122

[Article by S. Yastrzhembskiy: "The Contemporary Antiwar Movement"]

[Text] The dialectics of contemporary international relations are such that the greater the threat created by the imperialist course toward supercharging tension, the more positive are the actions of the forces of peace and progress, of mankind's self-preservation. It is precisely because of this that the mass antiwar and antinuclear protest movement, which unites in its ranks the fighters for peace and social progress of all countries and continents, has become the sign of our time.

The parameters, the character and the dynamics of the struggle of the peace-loving forces, as well as the historic situation, in which it is developing, do not have parallels in the past. And that is understandable. After all, never before until now has mankind amassed in its arsenals such huge stocks of weapons of mass annihilation that are so destructive with regard to their power. Never before has the "war or peace" dilemma acquired a scale that threatens disappearance of modern civilization without a trace and destruction of everything alive on earth. The features of the present antiwar movement have been brought about by this.

In the development of the contemporary antiwar movement, which sprang up during the seventies-eighties in response to the notorious NATO's "dual decision" and the White House intentions to begin production of neutron weapons, two stages--interconnected, but at the same time diverse with regard to their distinctive characteristics--have been traced and are visible. The first of them (to the end of November 1983) can be called a formation stage of worldwide coalition of peace-loving forces, a search for most expressive forms to manifest the antiwar protest of the masses and a stage of selfless resistance against NATO plans to deploy new American first strike nuclear missile weapons in some bloc-member countries. However, the antiwar and antimissile movement was unable, unfortunately, to solve this main task of the period. Flagrantly trampling upon the clearly expressed will of peoples, the United States and its closest North Atlantic Treaty allies in November 1983 began installing nuclear missiles in the territories of Great Britain, Italy and the FRG. In March 1985, their installation began in Belgium.

This course of events was immediately taken advantage of by the ruling circles and propaganda services of NATO countries, which mounted a powerful political and propaganda attack that has not slackened to this day against the mass antiwar movement. By subjecting the supporters of peace to persecutions and repressions and inflaming defeatist moods in every possible way, they are trying to paralyze their will to resist and to weaken the fever pitch of antiwar movements. With this aim a thesis is being persistently instilled in public consciousness to the effect that the battle for peace, after "sustaining a crushing defeat," has completely exhausted itself and demonstrated its "lack of effectiveness" and the "unpromising nature" of further antiwar struggle. But is everything like this actually?

No, and this is convincingly testified to by facts. Undeniably, the antiwar movement in West Europe and the advocates of peace in other regions who support it were unable to prevent the beginning of deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles on the European continent. However, it would be a great delusion to believe that the efforts of millions of people aimed at preventing the nuclear threat and restraining the arms race turned out to be "in vain" and "did not justify" themselves.

In our days even the most adventurist circles of imperialism cannot ignore the will, authority and influence of the peace-loving forces on the international situation. This is connected, first of all, with the growth of political, economic and defensive might of the USSR and other socialist community countries, which come forward as the main guarantor of peace and security of peoples by constraining the aggressive aspiration of the forces of war and depriving them of the possibility to act as they see fit.

Yes, the potential of the entire antiwar movement, which has gained authoritative positions in the sociopolitical life of many countries, has grown immeasurably in the past few years. Let us remember that the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, which has immeasurably increased after Washington wrecked the talks in Geneva and relied on achieving military superiority, has set in motion the broadest peoples masses. Merged together in the antinuclear protest were various and sometimes extremely different reasons and motives of millions of people who were united in a single ardent desire--to preserve life on earth for the present and succeeding generations. In some cases the question was one of manifestations of fear and natural instinct of self-preservation. In other cases it was ethical-religious unwillingness to accept any violence. In many cases the antiwar protest was a result of a consistent class approach to questions of war and peace and reflected scientific and professional understanding of the entire disastrous nature of consequences of nuclear confrontation. The numerous peace-loving initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries served as a stimulus of no small importance in developing the antiwar consciousness of the masses.

All of this resulted in the fact that by early eighties Europe, North America and Japan were literally swept over by waves of huge antiwar movements. Specifically, in cities such as Athens, Bonn, Brussels, the Hague, London, New York and other cities the demonstrations of fighters for peace gathered

from 100,000 to 1 million participants. In many countries, for example, in the FRG, Belgium, Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark, the movements of the champions of peace became the most massive democratic movements in their national history and became firmly established as a real factor of internal political life. The most important result of such an unprecedented upsurge of antiwar movements consisted in the fact that questions of war and peace in the nuclear age turned out to be in the focus of attention of the broadest peoples masses who realized the necessity of personal participation in the struggle to save their own lives and the human civilization itself.

The effectiveness of the worldwide antiwar movement was strikingly manifested in a truly "antinuclear revolution," which under the influence of the broadest masses of the population engulfed hundreds of cities and settlements in West Europe, Japan, the United States and Canada. By the end of 1984, more than 300 cities in Japan, 281 in Belgium, 157 in England, 81 in Norway, 71 in Netherlands, 58 in the United States and so forth have declared themselves as "nuclear free zones." Plaques with the words "Nuclear Weapons Free Zone" have appeared on signs that are installed before entering thousands of populated places in the FRG.

The new experience, which was accumulated in the selection of methods and means for expressing the peace-loving hopes of the masses, is also of invaluable importance for the future of the antiwar movement. Besides the traditional demonstrations, meetings, assemblies, colloquiums, collections of signatures and conferences, forms of protest which gained wide dissemination in the West include the establishment of tent camps (in Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, Canada and Denmark), encircling with "living chains" the location areas of American missiles (the FRG, Belgium and Italy), obstructing approach roads to military installations (the United States, the FRG and Japan), nationwide days of protest and referendums, public "tribunals of the arms race," antiwar plays, torch processions and other. These actions, which are oriented toward various sections of the population, make it possible for every person to make his contribution to preventing a nuclear war.

Such typical features of the contemporary antiwar movement were clearly manifested in 1979-83, an analysis of which also shows the whole fallacy of reasoning by missile politicians about the "uselessness" and "inefficiency" of the battle for peace.

First of all, let us take note of the formerly unprecedented variety of social and professional composition of participants in the antiwar movement in the West, among whom are persons of all classes and sections of the population, including representatives of privileged groups of the bourgeois society such as members of parliaments and officials of government institutions former diplomats and retired generals, world-famous scientists and lawyers and presidents of major companies and banks.

There is yet another significant achievement of the contemporary peace-loving movement--the experience of interaction in it of representatives of the broad spectrum of sociopolitical forces--communists, social democrats, Christians,

liberals, pacifists and advocates of environmental protection. Even a certain part of conservative circles sides with the antiwar movement on individual questions. For example, the difference of opinion on the deployment of American missiles of organizations such as the Christian Democrats for Steps on Disarmament (FRG) or the Tories Against Cruise Missiles (Great Britain).

Particularly reassuring are the changes occurring among socialists and social democrats, who are noticeably changing their attitude toward the problems of war and peace, disarmament and cooperation of various political trends in ensuring international security. Thus, under the influence of the public's vigorous antiwar protest, the leadership of social democrats and socialists of Austria, Denmark, Norway and the FRG evolved from supporting NATO's "dual decision" to energetically opposing it. It is significant that for the first time since the formation of NATO (1949) the majority of social democratic parties of West Europe, who in the recent past unconditionally supported military conceptions of the bloc, are now coming forward against its nuclear missile plans.

Also important is the fact that among social democrats, despite the pressure of the right wing and the load of anticommunist prejudices of previous years, the understanding of the need to cooperate with communists is growing stronger. Such cooperation has already become an integral part of practical activity of leading coordination centers and low-level links of the peace movement in Great Britain, West Berlin, Greece, Denmark, Ireland and the FRG. The "wind of changes" has even penetrated the upper echelons of social democratic parties. A confirmation of this are the statements carried on the pages of the international journal of communist and workers parties PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM of such prominent social democratic leaders as O. Palme, K. Sorsa, (E. Bar), (A. Benn) and others.

In this case the communists, of course, do not overlook the fact that certain forces in the Sotsintern [Socialist International] at times attempt to derive benefit from participating in the antiwar struggle for achieving strictly their own party goals. Many political and world outlook differences, which divide the two leading trends in workers movement, retain their acuteness. But as noted by (G. Mis), chairman of the German Communist Party, for communists "first of all, the important circumstance is that possibilities for much closer practical cooperation of communists and social democrats has noticeably improved."

From the standpoint of prospects for development of the antiwar movement it is exceptionally important that at the end of the first stage the role of the working class has significantly increased in the struggle for peace, suspension of the arms race and for shifting the funds being spent on it to socioeconomic development. Under the influence of powerful antiwar demonstrations it is being gradually realized in trade unions of Christian and social democratic orientation that preservation of peace is not just one of the questions which must be dealt with but a main problem that requires immediate solution. The result of such a change, which has been supported for a long time by trade union centers holding consistently class positions, was not only participation by considerable segments of workers in actions of the peace-loving forces but



increased activity and effectiveness of the entire antiwar movement. New slogans--"Work, Not Bombs!" (Great Britain), "Peace, Work and Equality!" (United States), "Work Places Instead of Missiles. Offer Resistance!" (FRG) and so forth--received ardent response in the masses.

Participation by church circles in the movement against war plays an appreciable role. Suffice it to recall the position of American bishops, who in May 1983 condemned the very thought of allowing the use of nuclear arms; or the active role played in the antinuclear mobilization of the population by the Protestant church in the FRG and the Interchurch Council of Peace in Netherlands. The peacemaking activity in some Western countries of clergymen, who appeal to the conscience and feelings of wide sections of believers, promotes strengthening of the mass coalition base of opponents of war.

In speaking about features of development, achievements and problems of the peace-loving forces coalition during the so-called "pre-Pershing period," it is necessary to name some more unquestionable successes in the struggle for eliminating the threat of a nuclear war.

Thus, according to an almost unanimous admission by the bourgeois mass media itself, the antinuclear and antimissile protest of the masses altered the political landscape of some West European states, involved a considerable number of their citizens in the struggle against deployment of missiles and led to demarcation on the questions of "Euromissiles" and ensurance of national security between ruling conservative parties and social democratic opposition in Belgium, Great Britain, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and the FRG.

The antiwar mood of public opinion had an effect upon the positions of parliaments and even governments of some NATO-member states and marked the beginning of discussions in legislative organs of authority in many countries in the West on the conception of national defense in the nuclear age. In Denmark, for example, under the pressure from "below" the parliament made it incumbent upon the executive authority to obtain in NATO the recognition of the country's nuclear free status and resolved to withdraw the Danish contribution in the amount of 48 million kroner from block allocations for the deployment of "Euromissiles." Persistent actions by the supporters of peace in Netherlands have forced the right-centrist cabinet to postpone final decision on the deployment on its territory of 48 American Tomahawks to 1988, thereby frustrating NATO plans and schedules. Also must not be ruled out is the fact that political leaders of some West European states, for example, Greece, Sweden and Finland, taking into consideration the great concern of the population of their countries about the danger of a nuclear war, have advanced some initiatives that are called upon to relax international tension.

In the United States, despite the anti-Soviet hysteria that is sanctioned by the government and which has reached an unprecedented scale even by American standards, there was a noticeable change in the mass consciousness, which could not but have an effect upon the political life of the country. In the past, America, noted the bourgeois journal NATION, did not know either on a quantitative, geographic or social plane of an anti-government protest similar to the movement

for freezing nuclear arms. The American supporters of peace justly regard as their achievement the fact that under the influence of numerous actions of the antinuclear protest and the growing popularity of the movement for freezing (its aims are now shared by a large groups of senators and congressmen), the problems of war and peace, Soviet-American relations and disarmament occupied one of the central places during the presidential elections of 1984.

It is significant that even some adherents of the "missile party" were forced to admit the moral and political weight of the peace-loving movement and its influence on the public life of North Atlantic Treaty-member countries. Among them is former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger who stated on the pages of TIME magazine that under conditions when the public opinion of West Europe resolutely opposes any tendency whatsoever to rely on nuclear arms, the deployment of Pershings and cruise missiles can turn out to be no more than a temporary achievement.

The cited facts, and their enumeration can be continued without difficulty, refute the groundless statements of missile admirers about the "inefficiency" of actions of the peace coalition. On the contrary, they should be regarded as a serious success, which gives to its participants new strength and strengthens their awareness that the actions being undertaken are not in vain.

At the same time, despite unquestioned successes, certain weaknesses in the development of the peace supporters movement have manifested themselves during the first stage, which is natural, if the great mass of people who became involved in political confrontation is taken into account. At times various trends of the peace-loving forces acted spontaneously and in an isolated manner, and their actions lacked organization, unity and coordination; observed in some places was tardiness in launching of the mass antiwar struggle and insufficient participation in it of the working class. Many participants in the peace-loving movement, particularly young people, lacked experience and steadfastness in repulsing continuous attacks by a strong adversary.

As further events have shown, a certain part of the defenders of peace underestimated the might of the state machinery opposing them and the striving by the U.S. ruling circles and their closest allies to begin the deployment of missiles at all costs.

These and many other difficulties and problems, of course, have played their role in that the supporters of peace were unable to prevent the beginning of deployment of American "Euromissiles." However, as eloquently testified to by the aforementioned facts, this under no circumstances casts doubt on the noble mission and the historic significance of the contemporary antiwar movement, which is making an important contribution to the preservation of peace.

With the appearance of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles on the European continent the struggle for peace has entered a new stage of its development. As noted earlier, the bourgeois propaganda hastened to announce the defeat of the antiwar movement and predicted its decline, stratification into individual groups and gradual disappearance from the political arena. It was counted on that under

the changed conditions the supporters of peace will be unable to coordinate a new platform of struggle, and many of them would be unable to bear the psychological burden of failure, become disheartened and lose confidence in their own strength and possibilities. But the militarist oracles have miscalculated.

Of course, the fact that, despite a truly nationwide anti-missile protest, the NATO decision on "additional armament" still began to be implemented, could not but have an effect upon the morale of participants in the antiwar protest in some West European countries. The bringing to combat readiness of Pershings and Tomahawks had evoked most painful reaction in the public opinion of the FRG. A certain part of the supporters of peace here found themselves temporarily disoriented; some people succumbed to pessimism and withdrew from active forms of struggle. But this did not last long.

The shamelessness, with which the ruling circles ignored the will of the majority of the people, had, naturally, aroused indignation of the West German public, deepened its distrust of the U.S. and NATO bloc policy and strengthened the understanding, as expressed by (Mari Luis Bek-Oberdorf), one of the leaders of the Green Party in the Bundestag that "at present as at no time in the past there are reasons for struggle and resistance."

After some confusion, discussions and reflections on the lessons and prospects of anti-missile battles, the supporters of peace in the FRG came to life again. A search began for more effective ways to oppose the nuclear threat, the activity of trade unions increased and the process of involving various groups of the population in the struggle for peace was resumed. This was graphically manifested in the Easter marches of 1984-85 (residents of more than 200 cities and communities of the FRG participated in this year's march) as well as in the course of the anti-missile referendum of 17 June last year in which 87 percent (5.2 million people) of those polled came out against the American missiles.

In other West European countries, to say nothing of other regions of the world, the deployment of Pershings and cruise missiles also led not to curtailment of the antiwar movement, but to intensification of the struggle and putting forward of demands with regard to removing the missiles and resuming Soviet-American talks. Thus, the pressure of the Dutch supporters of peace on the ruling circles was visibly intensified. Consideration of a suit brought against the state by 20,000 Dutchmen has begun in the Netherlands Supreme Court. Their goal is to achieve a legal ban on the deployment of Tomahawks in the country. During the second half of 1985, there are plans to conduct in Netherlands a nationwide referendum on the attitude toward "Euromissiles." Deployment of the first batch of missiles in Belgium has even encountered opposition on the part of prominent figures of the Christian People's Party, which is one of the key components of the ruling coalition. On the wave of the antiwar protest in Australia an independent formation has appeared--the Party for Nuclear Disarmament, which was able to get its representative into the Senate during the parliamentary elections in 1984. In the spring of 1985, the country became a witness of the largest peace marches in its history, with participation of 370,000-400,000 Australians.

It is also symbolic that social democrats, socialists and laborites of many countries have stirred up their antiwar activity. For example, the Labor Party

of Great Britain has proclaimed a non-nuclear defense policy, which provides for repudiation of nuclear arms and elimination of American nuclear bases in the national territory. The New Zealand laborites, who came to power after victory in elections, prohibited, without yielding to Washington's concentrated pressure, the calls in ports of the country by American ships with nuclear arms aboard and raised the question about New Zealand's participation in the ANZUS military bloc. The Socialist Party of Japan--a leading opposition force in the country--called upon its fellow countrymen at its 49th congress (January 1985) to stir up the movement for complete prohibition of nuclear arms and for creation of a nuclear free zone in regions of Asia and the Pacific Ocean. At a meeting of the Bureau of the Socialist International in Brussels (April 1985), a whole group of leaders of socialist democratic parties condemned Reagan's "Strategic Defense Initiative" as a serious threat to the cause of peace.

Since the beginning of 1985, hopes appeared for a change for the better in the entire international situation. The understanding reached in Geneva between the USSR and the United States as a result of persistent efforts by the Soviet Union with regard to the subject and aims of new talks on questions of space and nuclear arms has inspired wide sections of the peace-loving forces and gave them a new incentive for continuing the struggle. There was also great reaction in the world to the USSR decision to declare unilaterally a moratorium (to November 1985) on deployment of intermediate range missiles and building up other retaliatory measures in Europe. The Soviet initiative was appraised as an important step, contributing to the success of the talks in Geneva. At the same time, the United States has not only failed to advance serious proposals at the talks on curtailment of the arms race, but, on the contrary, has been taking steps that make such curtailment impossible. The question is one of the so-called "star wars" program, the development of assault space weapons.

The demands of the opponents of war and the arms race have substantially expanded at the present stage and have become global and multifaceted. If up to the end of 1983 their main efforts were concentrated on preventing the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Europe, then in 1984 and the first half of 1985 the antiwar movement came forward with slogans that meet the contemporary situation --suspend deployment and remove American missiles already deployed; restore the situation that had existed in the west and east of the European continent prior to their deployment; establish nuclear free zones; freeze nuclear arsenals; ban biological and chemical weapons; prevent militarization of outer space; sign an agreement on refusing to be the first to use nuclear weapons; and other.

It has become increasingly more obvious that the realization of NATO's missile decision was not without consequences for the North Atlantic Treaty itself. The so-called "consensus of security policy," which was built on the stereotyped notion that national interests can be provided for and defended exclusively within the framework of NATO and alliance with the United States, was undermined in the FRG, Great Britain and some other bloc-member countries. The high-handedness of Washington, which strived in every way for deployment of "Euromissiles," and Pentagon's insane conceptions of "limited" nuclear and "star" wars have caused a crisis of trust of wide sections of the West European population in the military doctrine of the United States and NATO as a whole. Thus, according to

a public opinion poll conducted in the FRG by the (Allensbach) Institute, it was revealed that if in the fifties-sixties and up to the beginning of the seventies the majority of West Germans had an almost 100 percent trust in the United States, then 52 percent of those polled in the early eighties did not give an affirmative reply to the question as to whether the United States is their "best friend." Among the supporters of the SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany] and the Green Party this figure was even higher--56 and 74 percent respectively.

The result of such reappraisal of values and changes, occurring in mass consciousness of West Europeans, is an intensive search for new doctrines of national security. Moreover, its provision is being connected by many political and public circles with a return to detente, peaceful coexistence and close partnership in the sphere of international security. "It is not only a question of protest against the deployment of cruise missiles and Pershings," (A. Benn), prominent figure of the Labor Party of Great Britain and member of the House of Commons, noted in this connection. "It is important that the very conception of the government's (conservative--ed) foreign policy be revealed and exposed, and its place be taken by an active course toward the defense of peace, detente and international mutual understanding."

The events of 1984 and the first months of 1985 have reflected the increased role and influence of the working class, plant collectives and trade unions in the antiwar movement. And this is natural, for the interconnection of the struggle for peace with the struggle for social progress has become obvious to an increasingly wider sections of workers, employees and members of trade unions. This conclusion was reached by participants in the conference of activists of the struggle for peace at work places in Finland; the congress of FRG workers--"For Peace and Labor," which was organized by the German Communist Party; and congresses of major trade union associations of the FRG (ONP [Association of German Trade Unions]) and Japan (Sokhio [General Council of Japan Trade Unions]), who proclaimed the struggle for peace and for nuclear missile disarmament as the main prerequisite for solving acute social problems. A striking confirmation of the increasing role of the working class in the antiwar movement were the the political strikes in defense of peace, which were held in 1984 in Netherlands, Greece, Denmark and Finland. These actions have evoked broad political reaction and considerably strengthened positions of the supporters of peace in these countries.

At the present time, the interconnection of the antiwar movement in the countries of the West with the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is being felt more distinctly than ever; among participants in the anti-missile protest there is a growing understanding that the threat to peace and the cause of national liberation comes from the same source, imperialism, and consequently, it is necessary to struggle against it together. The supporters of peace see an important task of antiwar and anti-imperialist struggle in the stimulation of solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Lebanon, Angola and Ethiopia.

Finally, another distinctive feature of the present stage of the antiwar struggle is the increasingly more noticeable support of the opponents of confrontation and

the arms race by large groups of realistically thinking representatives of the bourgeois camp. Without concealing their hostile attitude toward communist ideology, these figures at the same time urge that the world situation be appraised in a sensible manner, come out in favor of expanding contacts between the East and the West and oppose American plans for militarization of space.

Constructive initiatives, which are directed at restraining the arms race, first of all of nuclear arms, are also being advanced by authoritative statesmen of the nonsocialist world. We have in mind, in particular, the antiwar declaration by heads of states and governments of six countries on four continents: Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden, the decision by some Western countries not to participate in Reagan's plans for the militarization of space and so forth.

Thus, the antiwar movement at the contemporary stage has not only not been deprived of the mass base, but has been developing in depth, proving its endurance and the ability to mobilize people and to achieve unity of actions in a critical situation. This instills confidence in the millions of supporters of peace and inspires them to purposeful and united actions against the danger of war.

Of course, it would be wrong to believe that the contemporary antiwar movement has been developing without conflict and does not have its own internal weaknesses and shortcomings, which have already been described in part. It must be taken into account that the heterogeneous nature of the movement, which ensures it with a mass basis, at the same time creates certain problems and complicates cooperation of its various groups. Inherent from the very beginning in the diversity of political, ideological and world outlook of the broad spectrum of antiwar organizations and groups is an inconsistent view of the international situation, different understanding of reasons of its aggravation and dissimilar opinion of the policy of the socialist community countries and, in particular, of the defensive countermeasures adopted by them in response to the increased threat from imperialism.

Hence, the animated discussion that is continuing today in the movement for peace in various countries about the prospects of its development and the possibilities for expansion of aims and the political platform of struggle. Hence, an extremely difficult search for ways to draw together the positions of various antiwar trends with regard to problems such as reasons and sources of the dangerous aggravation of situation in the world, alternative conceptions of security, reality and consequences of unilateral disarmament, significance of military parity and other. Hence, the tremendous responsibility that rests with communists as the most politically mature, active and consistent force in the antiwar movement, for preserving and strengthening its unity, overcoming negative phenomena which exist in it and for exposing all sort of false ideas and anti-Soviet and anticommunist myths, which disorient and confuse some supporters of peace.

Communists, who stood at the dawn of the contemporary antiwar movement, do not seek monopoly and a leading role in it, but see their main task in the unification

of all people of good will, regardless of their ideological, political and world outlook. In solving this task, communists of various countries have done much so that the antiwar struggle is joined not only by those "who are with them" or "not against them," but even by those who at times adhere to opposite positions on some questions of public life. In so doing the communists proceed from the premise that willingness to carry out joint antiwar actions should have nothing in common with a repudiation of present convictions.

Such a broad, unbiased, honest approach by communist parties to their allies in the struggle for peace has contributed to the achievement of the present scope and power of the antiwar movement, has raised the authority of communists and weakened the influence of the anticommunist stereotypes of bourgeois propaganda on the consciousness of many participants of antimissile resistance in the West.

Cooperation in the struggle for peace with thousands of groups, movements and organizations, which represent almost the entire spectrum of sociopolitical forces of the West--from left-wingers to conservatives and liberals--opens prospects before communists for establishing broad extraparlimentary unions and expanding the circle of those sympathizing with and being fond of the revolutionary party of the working class. This has been repeatedly pointed out lately by representatives of communist parties of Austria, Denmark, Canada, Norway, the United States and the FRG.

Thousands of people, who for the first time have encountered communists in the ranks of the anti-missile protest, have been convinced through their own experience in their political sincerity and moral purity, highly appraise the extent of organization and initiative inherent in them and realize the utmost importance of getting rid of anticommunist prejudices for the sake of increased efficiency of the antiwar movement. Characteristic in this respect is the opinion of Pastor (Folkmar Dayl), prominent figure of anti-missile resistance in the FRG and secretary of the organization known as "Action. A Sign of Atonement." "The struggle about the deployment of Pershings-2 and cruise missiles has shown," he believes, "that anticommunism does not work as before, but for the sake of peace it is necessary to overcome it to the end."\* Equally symbolic is the statement by (Egon Bar), authoritative expert of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and deputy of the Bundestag, who believes that in the atomic age "no fundamental differences in views, no different ideology must negate cooperation in the most important question of the present. No differences can be so great so as to hinder us (social democrats and communists--ed) in the struggle for the preservation of peace."\*\*

Communists are also playing an invaluable role in the formation of a democratic anti-imperialist consciousness of participants in the antiwar movement and in the exposure of anti-Soviet myths and views which still exist in some of its circles and which are spread by bourgeois propaganda.

\* See. Blatter fur deutsche und internationale Politik, 1984, No 6, pp 698-699.

\*\* PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, 1984, No 7, p 81.

The problems of war and peace, but then like all global problems, do not exist in and of themselves. They are inseparable from world social contradictions and from the development of class struggle. It is precisely to this interconnection between socialism and peace and imperialism and war that communists draw the attention of their partners, prove in a well-reasoned manner the fallacy of the notorious theory of "equal responsibility of two super powers" and bring to the consciousness of the masses the truth about the nature and goals of foreign policy of the USSR and of the socialist community countries. In so doing the communists are striving to conduct the dialogue and discussion in a manner so as not to permit a split and even the slightest narrowing of the front of antiwar forces.

"In the consciousness of people on earth," Comrade M. S. Gorbachev noted in the report "The Immortal Feat of the Soviet People," "a conviction is growing in the practical attainability of peace without wars and weapons. A conviction that such peace can already be built in our time and that for its sake it is necessary to act in a positive manner and to struggle now, today!" A further growth in understanding the true reasons and sources of nuclear danger by the ranks of the peace-loving forces coalition is the most important reserve for raising the effectiveness and stability of the antiwar movement and a key to its new successes as an influential factor of contemporary international relations.

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WESTERN EUROPE

COOPERATION BETWEEN AUSTRIA, SOCIALIST COUNTRIES LAUDED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 85 p 5

/Article by N. Novikov, IZVESTIYA correspondent, "On the Political Cross-Roads"/

/Text/ Austria is at times called "the cross-roads of Europe." And these words conjure up the image of the low, unusually-shaped turrets in the Vienna city park, the Stadtpark. Here the exact distances to the major European capitals are marked: Moscow--1,670 km, Paris--1,033 km, Bonn--681 km, Lisbon--2,300 km...

On the streets of Vienna and other Austrian cities one always hears English, French, Italian, and Spanish being spoken. These are, for the most part, tourists. But many come on business as well. Even now, in the height of the tourist season, the pace of business affairs in the country has not slackened.

Austria is in the grip of summer's heat, and political passions are hot as well. Controversy surrounds the putting into operation of the already finished nuclear electric power plant (AES) at Sventendorf. In 1978, when the plant had been constructed, a campaign arose against bringing it on-line. Opponents feared the plant would harm the environment. As a result of a referendum held that same year, the AES at Sventendorf was closed down temporarily. The shutdown period ended in March of this year. What lies ahead?

The Austrian socialist party which heads the coalition government, and other political forces have agitated for a quick start-up of the AES for many months. They are guided primarily by economic considerations. According to the WEINER ZEITUNG, the demand for electricity was up 5.2 percent this year while production dropped 1.6 percent. It has become necessary to import more electric power. Electricity from nuclear power plants offers concrete benefits according to Austrian economists.

But the AES at Sventendorf is opposed by the Freedom Party in the coalition government. The leaders of the opposition People's Party have not directly opposed the plant start-up, but have proposed a series of preconditions.

Some observers have discerned political motives in the People's Party actions to create more difficulties for the Socialists, who have spent 14 billion schillings on the plant. Moreover, they note that the People's party, in any case, is testing the strength of the Freedom Party--Socialist coalition once again. How the question of the Sventendorf AES will be resolved remains unknown; at present the struggle continues.

The political forces in the country are now embroiled in the question of who will be the next president of the republic. Although the presidential elections are still a year away, pre-election squabbling has already permeated Austria's highest legislative body.

Two presidential candidates have already come forward. The Socialist party nominated the current minister of health and environmental protection, Kurt Steyrer, and the People's Party named former UN General Secretary Kurt Waldheim. The Federal President of the Republic of Austria is elected by direct vote for a six year term. The current president, Rudolf Kirchshlager, was a candidate from the Socialist Party although he never was a member of that party. He became head of state in 1974, and was elected to a second term in 1980.

The Austrian press is giving detailed accounts of the social and political activities of the candidates, as well as reports on their personal lives. According to the Austrian press, the first test of strength already has taken place at "the highest levels." The opposition People's Party decided at the end of June to give battle to the Socialist candidate for president in the parliament.

The People's Party demanded that Kurt Steyrer and his deputies retire from the government, because his rival Waldheim currently holds no government post. Such a situation, they say, puts the candidates in an uneven position on the eve of the elections. It was not done, of course, without reproaches against the candidate from the Socialist party. Chancellor F. Sinowatz declined to consider the opposition party arguments.

"The Cross-roads of Europe" is also active right now on the international scene. Recently the Vice President of Nicaragua, S. Ramirez, made an official visit to Austria. An agreement was signed extending credit to Nicaragua to carry out specific projects. It must be noted that not all the political forces in the country are for Austria's strengthening of cooperation with democratic Nicaragua. For example, A. Mok, the leader of the opposition People's Party, demanded that the "bulk of aid to the developing countries of Central America be shifted from Nicaragua to Costa Rica."

Next, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish Worker's Party, Polish Foreign Minister S. Olshovsky, visited the shores of the Danube. The Austro-Polish talks set the stage for future economic, cultural, and scientific-technical ties between the two countries. This and other developments attest to the beneficial influence of Austria's policy of permanent neutrality. It will aid in improving relations between the Alpine republic and the Socialist countries.

Events have convincingly demonstrated that the conclusion of the State Treaty and the adoption of the law on permanent neutrality has had a favorable influence not only on the fortunes of Austria, but on the situation in Europe as a whole. Vienna's loyalty to the obligations it assumed permit it as a sovereign state to take an active role in European affairs and to make its contribution to the maintenance of peace.

Good relations between the Soviet Union and Austria are in the best interest of both countries. Both sides see the possibility of a higher level of cooperation.

Not long ago your correspondent spoke with E. Kreiner, head of the provincial government of Styria, who said:

"In my view, the Austrian people are pleased with the relationship existing between our country and the Soviet Union. We consider the joint economic agreement signed in May to be the 'deal of the century.' The Voest-Alpine concern will supply the Soviet Union with steel plates for making large-diameter pipes. The deliveries will be made by a plant in the Styrian city of Kindberg which is part of Voest-Alpine. We Styrians are naturally proud of that."

But Washington does not like seeing Soviet-Austrian relations improve. They make no secret of that. The US has passed a law prohibiting the export of certain items and technologies to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; these items were supposedly sent across the sea to Austria and have "strategic" significance. The former Austrian chancellor and honorary chairman of the Socialist party, B. Kreisky, has sharply condemned "the use of trade blackmail" against the Soviet Union. In an article published in the ARBEITER ZEITUNG he emphasized that any attempt to conduct a policy of economic boycott and trade restrictions in relations with the Soviet Union was "senseless." Such an approach, he noted, proved itself a failure many years ago.

Located at the "cross-roads of Europe," Austria has set up good, mutually-advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems. Here it is self evident that peaceful coexistence and constructive relations between nations is the only rational course of action in this nuclear age of ours.

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CSO: 1807/477

WESTERN EUROPE

USSR-FRANCE: CONTRACT WITH RENAULT

LD091344 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 9 Oct 85

[Text] Moscow, 9 October (TASS)--A big contract has been signed here with the French state company Renault for the purchase of advanced equipment to refurbish Moscow's Leninist Komsomol motor-works (ZALK). The contract is worth 457 million French francs.

The agreement provides for the delivery from France of a set of flexible automatic lines to assemble and weld bodies of a new generation of Moskvich passenger-cars. Renault will also supply spares for the equipment worth 13 million francs. The order is to be fulfilled in 1987.

"We believe that the equipment to be purchased from Renault has a good future," AZLK Director-General Valentin Kolomnikov has told a TASS correspondent. "The Renault lines are readjustable which will make it possible to use them for the manufacture of two new basic Moskvich models and one future model."

As to the first batch of new Moskvich cars to roll off the assembly line in 1986, the AZLK head said, the existing equipment and automatic lines earlier purchased from Sciaquis firm, France, will be used in the production process.

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CSO: 1812/14

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

WASHINGTON'S 'TWO-CHINA' STRATEGY HIT

OW131405 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to China 0400 GMT 9 Oct 85

[Ivanov: "'The United States' Anti-China Strategy"]

[Text] The United States has very officially pronounced on many occasions that it only recognizes one China with Beijing as its capital, and that Taiwan is part of China. However, like the U.S. pledge to strive to maintain and develop its friendly ties with China, this statement does not interfere with its obstinate efforts to obstruct Taiwan's return to China. It seems that the U.S. imperialists will not fundamentally change their stand in the near future.

It should be first pointed out that beginning in the 1950s, the United States has considered Taiwan as an unsinkable aircraft carrier in a very important strategic location very close to China. In the U.S. Far East and Pacific strategy, Taiwan has been given the [word indistinct] role in the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul political and military alliance of aggression. In the economic field, Taiwan is also no small matter to the United States. The trade volume between the United States and tiny Taiwan is approximately U.S.\$20 billion, about 4 times that between the United States and China. United States firms occupy a key position in Taiwan's economy and make windfall profits by plundering Taiwan's resources and exploiting the Taiwan people. Instead of decreasing, U.S. investment in Taiwan keeps increasing. This shows that U.S. businessmen are not worried about the future of Taiwan and their own fate in Taiwan.

The United States is enthusiastically advertising for Taiwan's system and order and energetically lauding Taiwan's economic and other achievements. It is also seriously considering whether to transfer Taiwan's system, which is more convenient to the United States, to the whole of China. In other words, the United States is ready to agree to the immediate unification of China and Taiwan, but by no means a unification under the socialist system. The United States is in this way undermining the PRC's socialist system and its independence.

Recently, a new theory has appeared in the U.S. press. In the words of U.S. political commentator Reston, the essence of this theory may be summarized as: the United States will support any and all anticommunist countries and blocs anywhere in the world. Dear listeners, a little analysis of this theory will enable you to understand that the United States has supported and will always support the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan because the United States can never find a group more anticommunist than the Taiwan authorities. It seems

that when U.S. President Reagan says he will not replace old friends with new ones, his old friends have been and will always be the most fanatically anti-communist friends in Taiwan. He understands that Washington should continue to play the cunning tricks and that since political considerations, in particular anti-Soviet considerations, force him to maintain relations with the PRC, the Two-China policy suits the United States best at the present stage. In so doing, the United States has nothing to lose at all.

/8309

CSO: 4005/170

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOECONOMIC POLICIES IN VIETNAM REVIEWED

Moscow INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS in English No 9, Sep 85 pp 13-21

[Article by M. Isayev]

[Text]

The Vietnamese people have had an eventful, heroic and far from simple history. In September 1945, as a result of the triumphant August revolution, they proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-and-peasant state in Southeast Asia. The past 40 years have been a period of heroic struggle against imperialist aggression and of creative development.

The August revolution marked a turning point in the Vietnamese people's courageous struggle for freedom and independence. That victory can hardly be overestimated: the establishment of the DRV deep in the hinterland of imperialism and colonialism ruptured yet another link in the chain fettering the dependent peoples. It was a direct result of the defeat inflicted by the Soviet Army in August 1945 on the main forces of Japanese militarism in the Far East.

The August revolution of 1945, which was a national democratic people's revolution in character and motive forces, opened up a new stage in Vietnam: the creation of prerequisites for a gradual transition to building socialism. Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Vietnamese revolution, pointed out: "The victory of the August revolution in Vietnam once again reaffirmed the validity of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the national-colonial question, the validity of the way mapped out by the October Socialist Revolution of 1917."<sup>1</sup>

The total liberation of South Vietnam from the pro-imperialist regime in 1975 and the countrywide triumph of a national democratic people's revolution created conditions for its development into a socialist revolution. Since the reunification of Vietnam and the proclamation of a Socialist Republic of Vietnam on July 2, 1976, the Communist Party—the time-tested vanguard of the Vietnamese people—has been the leading force in building a new society on the scale of the whole country.

The Fourth Congress of the CPV in December 1976 laid down the guidelines along which the united country was to advance towards socialism, pointing out that with the victory in the anti-imperialist struggle and the total liberation of the South, the Vietnamese revolution had entered a new stage, a stage at which the only strategic task is to carry

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<sup>1</sup> Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Speeches and Articles*, Politizdat, Moscow, 1959, p. 726 (in Russian).

on the socialist revolution and make confident headway towards socialism.<sup>2</sup>

In getting down to practical steps that would enable the united country to go over to socialism, the Vietnamese Communists were aware that the national economy was seriously undermined by the protracted imperialist aggression, that the economy rested on a weak material and technical basis, and that in the south of Vietnam new relations of production were just beginning to take shape, besides in the conditions of small-scale production. Different socio-economic structures continued to exist in the north and the south of the country. Socio-economic transformations in the south presented particular difficulties, since before liberation that part of the country was totally dependent on the world capitalist economy, with kulaks holding strong positions in agriculture. One should also bear in mind that in view of incessant interference by the imperialist and hegemonistic forces, the SRV has been obliged from the very outset to divert sizeable material and manpower resources away from the economy in order to strengthen the country's national defence.

The main achievement was that the grave aftermath of the destructive war thrust upon that country by imperialism had largely been rooted out, the material and technical basis of the economy had been strengthened, new relations of production had been established in town and country, and the positions of the state and cooperative sectors in the economy had been strengthened, so that in the 1980s these sectors have been turning out the bulk of the gross social product. In spite of considerable difficulties, the peasant masses of the south, where class exploitation and the vestiges of neo-colonialism had been eliminated, were being drawn into collective forms of social labour, and the process was gathering momentum. A state sector in industry and trade had been established and consolidated in that part of the country. Private capitalist industry was being transformed through the formation of mixed state-capitalist enterprises.

At the present stage, the economy is the main area of working people's struggle to strengthen the positions of socialism in the SRV. The Party and the people have concentrated their efforts on fulfilling the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the CPV (March 1982), which laid down the main lines for the Vietnamese people's advance towards a new society. The Congress emphasised that the people face two strategic tasks: the building of socialism and defence of the revolutionary gains. The Congress also projected the main guidelines for the development of the country's national economy in the current five-year period (1981-1985) and throughout the 1980s.

Considerable importance attaches to the Vietnamese Communists' conclusion that Lenin's ideas on a New Economic Policy and on the need to develop the productive forces by using the progressive potentialities of all the socio-economic sectors, while the people's power holds the commanding heights in the economy, are valid for Vietnam as well. Thus, for some time to come the SRV is to retain a multisectoral economy (in the north, there are three economic sectors: state, cooperative and small-commodity, and in the south, there is also a state-private and a private-capitalist sector). Realisation of the Party's line for coexistence and interaction of the various economic sectors depends on a number of factors, and especially on effective measures to strengthen the socialist sector as the basis of the whole socialist economy, on the elaboration of flexible forms for running the private-capitalist sector.

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<sup>2</sup> See *Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam*, Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, pp. 411-412 (in Russian).



An analysis of the decisions of the CPV Central Committee's plenary meetings held since the Fifth Congress of the Vietnamese Communists shows that priority in the overall complex of economic tasks put on the agenda has been given to such pressing problems as the need to boost agriculture, to strengthen the new relations of production in the countryside and, on that basis, to advance towards a solution of the food problem in the SRV, and also to perfect economic administration and management. In a speech at the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the CPV Central Committee (1984), General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee Le Duan pointed out that the Vietnamese Communists "have been making immense efforts to change the bureaucratic structure of economic administration at the very root, to accelerate the formation of a new structure... A favourable factor for us is the possibility of using the experience of the fraternal countries. We should study and apply that experience in a creative way, without mechanical imitation."<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, Vietnam's system of economic administration, which took shape in the past, mostly in wartime, has proved to be of little effect in tackling the tasks of peaceful development. Moreover, the old methods of administration, like highly centralised planning and administrative functions, material and financial resources, with limited commodity-money relations, have come to hinder the country's economic development.

It has also become evident that the operation of all the main units of the economic mechanism in the agrarian sector needs to be perfected: the state procurement system, price-formation in farm produce, and the forms of organising production and distribution. It is also time to put an end to the occasional violations of cooperative and peasant rights, and to harmonise the peasantry's collective and personal interests in the cooperative sector.

The main purpose of the reform in economic administration and management being carried out in Vietnam is to go on strengthening and perfecting state planning with a simultaneous extension of economic initiative in the localities, to make more vigorous use of economic levers, introduce diverse forms of material incentives on a wider scale, and change the organisational structure of the economic machinery. The most important thing here is to perfect planning and management down at the enterprises and in the farming cooperatives.

All these measures have in the main had a positive effect on the development of industry and agriculture. For instance, the greater economic and production independence of the enterprises together with more extensive use of piece-wages in industry have resulted in fuller use of the fixed production assets, in more economical use of raw and other materials, an expansion of production, higher labour productivity, and larger incomes of workers and office personnel. At the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the CPV Central Committee (1984), further improvement of industrial management was listed among the major tasks.

In the present five-year period, industry, whose backbone is made up of 12,000 enterprises in the state sector, has on the whole developed dynamically. In 1981-1983, gross industrial output increased at an average annual rate of 14.6 per cent, as compared with 2.5 per cent in the preceding five-year period.

In 1983, Vietnam produced 4,100 million kWh of electricity, 6.2 million tons of coal, 265,000 tons of mineral fertilisers, 907,000 tons of cement, 512,000 cubic metres of sawn timber, and 287 million metres of

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<sup>3</sup> *Kommunist*, No. 15, 1984, p. 62 (in Russian).

fabric. In 1984, further headway was made in boosting the production of electric power, mineral fertilisers, cement, and engineering products. Nevertheless, the volume of industrial production in the SRV is still fairly small and cannot meet the country's growing requirements. In 1984, gross industrial output increased by only 7.5 per cent on 1983.

Essential changes have been effected in the present five-year period in the mechanism of running agriculture, the main branch of material production in the SRV. The task was to perfect the system of state procurements, price formation in farm produce, and the forms of organising production and distribution, and to take measure offering the peasants economic incentives to greater production in the cooperation sector. With that aim in view, steps have been taken to stabilise binding deliveries and allow a certain measure of free trade in surplus farm produce. The part of the commodity output that remains once the tax has been paid in and the binding deliveries have been made can now be sold by the peasants to the state at higher contractual prices, exchanged for additional deliveries of manufactures, or sold on the free market.

Since 1981, a new system of labour organisation and remuneration, combining the team method and the "family contract", is being widely introduced in agricultural producer cooperatives. Under that system, specialised teams in the cooperatives perform operations that require the use of machinery, like tillage or land-improvement, while the other work is done by peasant families, which are members of the cooperative, on plots of land assigned to them for several years. Special quotas are planned for each household, specifying the amount of farm produce to be delivered to the state, while a sizeable part or all of the produce obtained over and above the contract remains at the disposal of the family, which can either sell it on the market or dispose of it in any other way it likes.

The new system of labour organisation and remuneration has largely yielded positive results both from the standpoint of boosting production and of increasing peasant incomes, for it has offered the peasants greater incentives to more active work in the cooperative sector. With the introduction of that system, labour productivity in agriculture has markedly increased. At the same time, it has also brought out some negative phenomena in economic life, in particular, an increase in the role of the "market factor", invigoration of the private element in trade. Party decisions orient towards a further perfection of administrative and managerial forms in agriculture and an effort to overcome the negative tendencies that are in evidence.

Major positive changes have recently taken place in agriculture in the south of Vietnam. Most of the lands in the rice-growing areas have been redistributed: in 1983 alone, roughly 64,000 hectares of land were handed over to near-landless peasants, and the total area of land redistributed since 1975 is about 400,000 hectares.

The drive for the formation of labour solidarity and labour mutual assistance groups, which has embraced most peasant households, has been gradually developing into a cooperative movement. Consumer cooperatives have also been extending their activities. At the end of 1984, over 23,000 producer artels and over 200 farming cooperatives operated in the SRV's southern provinces, embracing more than 47 per cent of the farmland and 52 per cent of all peasant households. Piece-work with payment for the final result of the work is wide-spread in the producer artels and cooperatives.

The results of the purposeful activities by the Party and the state in the field of agriculture are in evidence. Here are some convincing figures on the growth of productivity in agriculture: in 1981, Vietnam harvested 15.1 million tons of food crops (in terms of rice), an all-time high in the

country's history; in 1982, the figure was up to 16.2 million tons, and in 1983, to roughly 17 million tons. As a result, in spite of a marked increase in the size of the population (by over 1 million a year, with a total increase of 12 million since 1975), food production per head of the population went up from 268 kilograms in 1980 to 300 kilograms in 1983, when for the first time in many years Vietnam managed to do without food imports.

In 1984, food crops yielded 17.3 million tons, in spite of natural disasters (floods) in a number of provinces. In 1985, the target is 19 million tons. Food procurements by the state have increased: in 1983, these reached a record level of 3.75 million tons in terms of rice, or 22 per cent of the total yield.

The SRV's export base is being strengthened, with a positive effect on the country's trade turnover, which in the present five-year period has shown a tendency to increase. In 1983, for instance, it increased by 9.5 per cent, including exports by 17.7 per cent, and imports by 7.4 per cent. The USSR and other CMEA countries account for most of Vietnam's foreign trade. The share of goods being manufactured at the enterprises built with the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has been growing.

Despite certain unfavourable conditions, the current five-year period in Vietnam has seen a marked increase in the rate of economic development. Thus, in 1981-1983, the national income grew at an average annual rate of 7.8 per cent, and in 1984, at a rate of 5.5 per cent, as compared with one per cent in 1976-1980. As a result, the national income in the past few years has been sufficient to form the whole of the social consumption fund, which used to be formed partially at the expense of foreign assistance.

Questions relating to the further perfection of the economic mechanism, the struggle to strengthen the new relations of production and to consolidate the material and technical basis of socialism in the SRV were considered at the Sixth and Seventh plenary meetings of the CPV Central Committee held in 1984. It was emphasised at these meetings that although the SRV still faces considerable difficulties, there is a tendency towards greater economic stability. The constructive and organised labour of the Vietnamese people is an earnest of the successful accomplishment of the tasks set by the CPV.

Vietnam has attained considerable successes in the solution of social problems, in the development of education, public health and culture. The country has 93 institutions of higher learning, with over 130,000 students. It also has 280 specialised secondary educational establishments, with 112,000 students, and 12,000 general education schools, with about 12 million pupils. The Soviet Union has been giving valuable assistance to the SRV in training highly skilled personnel. In the 1980s, something like 5,000 Vietnamese students have been educated at 150 institutions of higher learning in 33 Soviet cities.

The working people's tangible achievements in the socio-economic, cultural and other spheres clearly reflect the consistent and purposeful activities of the CPV, which has a membership of over 1.8 million Communists. The Party seeks to educate the Vietnamese Communists and all the other working people in a spirit of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and organises them for an in-depth study of the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries.

The experience of building the foundations of socialism in Vietnam shows yet again that there is no and cannot be any way to socialism in circumvention of the general uniformities discovered by Marxism-Leninism and confirmed by the historical record of the USSR and the countries of existing socialism, by international practice. At the same time,

it provides convincing proof that each country contributes many specific, nationally peculiar elements to the realisation of these general uniformities.

Priority among the SRV's foreign policy tasks belongs to the all-round strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist community countries, relations which are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Further deepening of the SRV's cooperation with the Soviet Union, and also with other socialist community countries in the political, economic and other fields, is a factor of immense importance in helping Vietnam to realise its programmes for building a new life.

With the SRV's entry into the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in June 1978 and the conclusion of friendship and cooperation treaties with the USSR and other socialist community countries (the GDR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, Mongolia, Hungary and Laos), its relations with the fraternal socialist countries have risen to a qualitatively new stage.

The 1978 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the SRV reflects the striving of the CPSU and the CPV, of the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples for closer unity and a steady expansion of bilateral ties in every field: political, economic, social, and cultural.

Particular importance at the present stage attaches to economic cooperation, which ranges across most of the key branches of Vietnam's national economy. In the current five-year period, the USSR has been assisting the SRV to build and design something like 100 projects, including such major ones as the Hoa Binh hydroengineering complex on the Black River, the Pha Lai thermal power plant, the Cao Son coal-pit, and the Bim Son cement works. Much importance is attached to the joint Soviet-Vietnamese project for prospecting and exploiting oil and gas deposits on Vietnam's continental shelf. In that way, the basis of Vietnam's socialist industrialisation is being laid.

A major role here is to be played by the realisation of the long-term programme for developing bilateral economic, scientific and technical cooperation, signed by the two governments in October 1983.

A milestone in Soviet-Vietnamese relations was the friendly visit to the USSR from June 26 to July 1, 1985 of a Party and government delegation of the SRV headed by Le Duan during which the unity of views of the two Parties and countries on fundamental problems of the international situation and on topical issues of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation was confirmed once again.

Guided by the principle of socialist internationalism and taking into account the urgent needs of Vietnam, the Soviet Union adopted a decision to expand economic assistance to the SRV and provide it a new easy-term credit for the 1986-1990 period, as well as to postpone repayment of earlier credits. Specifically, deliveries of such economically important items as petroleum products, rolled steel, and cotton are to be increased. The sides agreed to direct their efforts to designing and building facilities of importance for the Vietnamese economy and the development of its export base. These are large-scale tasks, especially if one considers that in the current five-year period the volume of Soviet-Vietnamese trade cooperation more than doubled as compared to the 1976-1980 period.

"The Vietnamese Communists and all the working people of the SRV," Mikhail Gorbachev stressed at the meeting with the Vietnamese delegation, "can be firmly convinced that the cause of socialist development on

Vietnamese soil and the cause of Vietnam's freedom and independence will continue to have a firm foundation in our solidarity. The course for cementing Soviet-Vietnamese friendship and cooperation is a principled course of our Party and country."

Vietnam has been developing and intends to go on developing cooperation and international division of labour within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. An SRV delegation headed by Le Duan took part in the Moscow economic summit of the CMEA countries in June 1984. The decision of the 39th CMEA Session (Havana, November 1984) under which capacities for the extraction and processing of bauxites are to be built in Vietnam by the joint efforts of the CMEA countries has met with a wide response in Vietnam.

Multifaceted relations have taken shape between the SRV and the two neighbouring Indochinese states: the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. At the present stage, relations between the three countries constitute a major complex of all-round cooperation, both bilateral and trilateral, in the most diverse fields: political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and many others. The strengthening comradesly cooperation between their ruling Marxist-Leninist Parties—the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party—is undoubtedly of particular importance.

There is ever more large-scale cooperation and mutual assistance between the three countries in the solution of their socio-economic tasks. In spite of the certain difficulties it has to face, the SRV has been giving considerable assistance to Laos and Kampuchea in building the new society. In the period from 1976 to 1985, Vietnam's assistance to Laos has amounted to 1,300 million dong, with one-half of the total being extended in the form of grants. The SRV has been helping Laos to realise over 200 projects in various fields of the national economy. More than a thousand Laotians go to study in Vietnam every year. All that selfless assistance has been doing much to help the Laotian people lay the foundations of socialism in Laos.

Vietnam's assistance to the socio-economic revival of Kampuchea, whose national economy was all but razed to the ground during the three-year rule of the criminal Pol Pot clique, is also highly important. The SRV has been doing what it can to help people's Kampuchea rehabilitate its agriculture and forestry, to set up a system of public health and education, and to train national personnel, and has been supplying it with food, consumer goods and farm implements. Vietnamese specialists in various lines have been working in Laos and Kampuchea. The three countries have signed trade agreements, and the volume of trade between them has gradually tended to increase.

A major line of the SRV's foreign policy efforts is close coordination of action with Laos and Kampuchea in order to normalise the situation in Southeast Asia, to turn that region into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation, establish truly good-neighbourly, friendly relations with all their neighbours, and extend the dialogue between the countries of Indochina and ASEAN. New constructive proposals and initiatives to that effect are being constantly put forward at the conference held regularly twice a year by the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

The three countries of Indochina have been calling for an international conference to discuss all the problems relating to peace and stability in Southeast Asia, to be attended by all the states of the region and those countries beyond it which have a direct interest in the matter and are prepared to make their contribution to the cause of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. At their tenth conference, held in Ho Chi Minh City in 1985, the foreign ministers of the three Indochinese countries came out

in support of Malaysia's proposal for the formation of a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia and the implementation of the concept advocating a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in that region.

A point to note is that an awareness of the need to develop a constructive dialogue with the SRV is gradually making headway in the ASEAN countries, as it is evident, for instance, from the visit to Vietnam in March 1985 by Indonesia's Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumatmadja.

In close coordination with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, the SRV has been carrying on a consistent struggle for peace and detente, against the aggressive policy of the imperialist and reactionary forces. Wide support is given in Vietnam to the Soviet Union's undeviating line of maintaining and strengthening peace, preventing a nuclear war, curbing the arms race, nuclear arms race above all, extending and deepening cooperation among all states.

Festivities were held in Vietnam to mark the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory over Nazism. In a comment on Mikhail Gorbachev's report at the Kremlin ceremony on May 8, 1985, *Nhan Dan* emphasised that "the attempts of present-day reactionaries to review the results of the Second World War and to distort the Soviet Union's role in it are meant to camouflage their own plans for intensifying the nuclear arms drive and militarising outer space, which present a grave threat to peace and to the life of the whole of mankind".<sup>4</sup> The Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers to the Peoples, Parliaments and Governments of All Countries on the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the End of World War Two was seen as a document of great political importance in Vietnam.

The USSR's efforts to prevent the militarisation of outer space meet with full support in Vietnam. It takes a positive view of the constructive stand adopted by the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-US talks in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons.

As an Asian state, the SRV naturally attaches particular importance to the struggle for stronger peace and stability on the Asian continent.

During the talks held during the friendly visit to the USSR of the SRV Party and government delegation, both sides affirmed their adherence to the idea of turning the Asian continent into a zone of peace and equitable cooperation and spoke out in favour of stepping up the search for constructive and mutually acceptable ways of ensuring peace and security in Asia. In their view it would be highly important to hold in the near future an all-Asia forum to consider the whole gamut of questions pertaining to security on this continent.

While criticising China's unfriendly line with regard to Vietnam and its destabilising policy in Southeast Asia, the SRV has invariably reaffirmed its readiness to restore normal relations with the PRC on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

For many years now, the Vietnamese people, who fought for their own national liberation, have been a reliable ally of the national liberation movement, taking a firm stand on the side of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

As a member of the non-aligned movement, the SRV has been working to sharpen its anti-imperialist, antiwar edge and carrying on a struggle for a new international economic order. Vietnam is in favour of

<sup>4</sup> *Nhan Dan*, May 9, 1985.

maintaining and developing normal relations with the capitalist countries on an equitable and mutually beneficial basis, rejecting the policy of sanctions and blockades being perpetrated by imperialism in international economic relations.

In forming its foreign policy concept on the strength of Lenin's principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and acting in close unity with the socialist community countries and in contact with progressive non-aligned states, the SRV has been playing an ever more important role in the world community. Socialist Vietnam's peaceful and constructive foreign policy has won it high prestige on the international scene. One indication that the international community recognises the SRV's peaceful foreign policy line is that 112 states maintain diplomatic relations with Vietnam in 1985, and over 60 countries, trade and economic ties.

"Vietnam's growing role in the international community, in the movement of non-aligned countries, its clear-cut stand in defence of peace and the rights of the peoples that have taken the road of independent development," Mikhail Gorbachev emphasised, "are ever more significant factors in strengthening security in Asia and the whole world. And the Soviet people are happy to know that in the international scene, as in tackling the tasks of peaceful development, we are acting hand in hand."

Vietnam's peace policy exerts an ever more tangible favourable influence on the situation in Asia and elsewhere, on the peoples' struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. Relying on the support of the socialist community and acting in a common front with Laos and Kampuchea, the SRV has turned into a reliable outpost of peace and socialism in Southeast Asia.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

U.S. 'BENEFITING' FROM CONTINUATION OF 'SENSELESS' GULF WAR

PM101436 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 40, Oct 85 pp 26-28

[D. Volskiy article: "The Hidden Springs of a Senseless War"]

[Text] The war between Iran and Iraq is called in the West a "strange" war. Indeed, is it not absurd that two neighbouring developing countries should be at each other's throats for already five years? When the first battles erupted in September 1980 few expected that they would continue not for weeks or even months but for years. For there are evidently more things that unite these countries than divide them. Both belong to the non-aligned movement, the Islamic Conference and the Group of 77. Last but not least, they are members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], and oil is the main natural wealth. Besides, in both countries pro-Western monarchies were overthrown, albeit at different times. Who could have imagined that these two states, so close to each other not only geographically, would become locked in deadly combat for so long? Literally deadly for tens of thousands of people--soldiers and volunteers, and also civilians are being killed in the bombing and shelling of towns behind the battle lines.

Kuwait's Foreign Minister was not far from the truth when at a recent meeting with his opposite numbers from other Gulf states in September he said that the situation in the region "has never been so dangerous as now."

But is this conflict really as "strange" as it appears to some Western politicians and journalists? Are they sincere when they shrug their shoulders in solemn perplexity looking at pictures of bloated corpses embedded in marshes, of blazing tankers in the Gulf or bomb-wrecked mosques. It is difficult, for instance, to believe in the sincerity of Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was the U.S. President's special assistant for national security at the time when the Iran-Iraq war broke out. Now he feigns concern over the protracted war. But what about five years ago? After all, nobody took the trouble to refute reports in the Middle East press at the time when Brzezinski had helped to circulate in the area the misinformation that helped spark off the war. Those who had a hand in instigating that war made very skilful use of the disputes which probably would have gradually subsided had they not been artificially fomented.



I refer first of all to the territorial dispute in the estuary of the Shatt al-Arab. I recall that when I travelled by boat along that murky river long before the war began, no one could point with certainty to what was Iranian and what was Iraqi territory. No doubt, this dispute could have been solved without difficulty, given good will, and could not possibly cause such a protracted conflict.

Other circumstances appear more serious: the historically conditioned friction between Arabs and Persians, the religious differences between the Sunnite and Shi'ite Moslems. Nevertheless, the Arab population in the Iranian province of Khuzestan, where the fighting began, did not display any noticeable disloyalty to the authorities in Tehran. On the other hand, the Shi'ite soldiers who form a considerable part of the Iraqi army did not rebel, as the Iranian supporters of the "Islamic revolution" had hoped.

But it was these illusory calculations that were encouraged by Western propaganda which first claimed that national heterogeneity would bring about a collapse of Khomeyni's Iran the moment Iraqi troops crossed its borders. When this did not happen a switch was made to scaring not only Iraq but also other Arab Gulf states with an "all-out" Iranian offensive. In the summer of 1984 the London TIMES intimated that the story about an imminent broad offensive by Iran had been deliberately circulated at the time by Washington with the aim of aggravating tension in the Gulf. There is growing awareness of this aim in the region. The Kuwaiti newspaper AL-WATAN, for instance, wrote on August 23 this year that "Washington has formally announced its 'neutrality' in the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran. Facts show, however, that through its allies and agents the United States is trying to pour oil on the flames of this war in order to benefit from it." What exactly are the benefits?

First of all, the Iran-Iraq armed conflict weakens two non-aligned Moslem states which Washington regards as its potential adversaries. Were it not for this war, the objective community of their interests could have resulted in a coordination of their actions and, hence, would have increased the anti-imperialist potential of the two nations. This would have changed the entire political situation in the Middle East and, certainly, not in favour of the U.S.

And what do we have now? Iran and Iraq have clashed but the cracks have spread throughout the Arab world, throughout the entire Moslem world. Some states supported Baghdad, others supported Tehran. It may even be said that the split in the Palestinian movement is to a certain extent a result of this war. And it is indeed a paradox that while making it difficult for the Middle East peoples to resist U.S. imperialist expansion, the Iran-Iraq conflict at the same time has increased possibilities for the consolidation of American military positions in that important region. The long-awaited pretext finally appeared! Pleading the danger of an "uncontrollable escalation" of the Iran-Iraq war, the Pentagon modernized its bases in Oman and Bahrain, deployed an AWACS intelligence-gathering system in Saudi Arabia and began sending ships of the 7th Pacific and

6th Mediterranean Fleets regularly to the Persian Gulf area, including aircraft carriers with nuclear arms on board. One Western war correspondent wrote in November last year that at the fire control centers of ships of the 6th Fleet that regularly appear in this tense area, U.S. officers get information on every Iraqi or Iranian plane spotted in the airspace south of the line passing through the Iranian town of Susangerd. Moreover, it was precisely at this time that the U.S. Central [CENTCOM] was established. CENTCOM's sphere of operation encompasses huge expanses from Ethiopia to Pakistan. It has at its disposal the Rapid Deployment Force already numbering almost 300,000 men.

So the Iran-Iraq war not only allowed Washington to place the entire Middle East region under its surveillance but also enabled it to train its sights, including its nuclear sights, on the countries located there.

The scale and offensive nature of the U.S. militaristic preparations in the Middle East suggest that Washington does not want just to liken itself to the tiger from the well-known Oriental parable that watches from the top of a mountain two monkeys fighting. It obviously plans to leap down at the right moment. For what purpose?

The standard answer to this question is that it wants to secure domination over Persian Gulf oil. A tempting enough proposition for imperialists. But there are a number of "buts." Firstly, the mechanism by which Western monopolies exploit the oil resources of developing countries has become so refined that direct control over the oil fields is no longer necessary. Secondly, oil from the Gulf is exported mostly not to the United States, but to Japan and West European countries whose economic interests are the least of Washington's concerns.

Of course, the threat of occupation of the Persian Gulf oil fields continues to play a considerable role in American plans in the Middle East. But Washington's aims in feeding by various means the flames of the Iran-Iraq war are much broader and more dangerous. The Tunisian weekly AL-HAQA' IQ was right in its conclusion that "however absurd and bloody, the interminable Iran-Iraq war is of interest to the Western powers, first of all to Washington," inasmuch as it makes it easier for it to interfere in Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Lebanon. Especially in Lebanon because the war "reduces the possibilities of the belligerents in the struggle against the U.S. aggressive actions with regard to the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples."

There is yet another participant [word indistinct] in the drama connected with the Iran-Iraq war. As yet it is behind the scenes, but still pretty close to the stage. Here is what Yitzhaq Shamir, then the prime minister and now the foreign minister of Israel, said in June 1984: "We advise our friends (read: the Americans--D.V.) to allow these two...countries to destroy each other." That was in the first act. And what happened in the second? "We are following the development of events," Shamir said. "And if in future we arrive at the conclusion that there is reason to intervene, we shall act accordingly."

Indeed, how can Tel Aviv resist such a temptation when the Gulf war is creating a sort of "gap in the war" for Israeli expansion eastward! Recall the official Zionist slogan: "From the Nile to the Euphrates." Or the less official but more practical calls by General Ariel Sharon to establish an Israeli "sphere of influence" stretching all the way to Pakistan. It is hardly by chance that the then Defence Minister made these calls soon after the Iran-Iraq war began. Sharon like Shamir, is a member of the present Cabinet. And who knows what the time is approaching when with Washington's blessing Tel Aviv might try to capitalize on the war between Iraq and Iran and revive its empire-building plan?

Meantime to the east of the war zone another American "client" is already starting to realize its ambitions. I refer to the military regime in Pakistan. General Ziaul Haq is not as loquacious as the Israeli leaders. Islamabad prefers to operate in the undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan and its encouragement of terrorist activity in India's northwestern states. All this is known. What is less known is that on the insistence of the United States the Islamabad regime is creating its own rapid deployment force intended for use in the Persian Gulf in a "contingency." But is it a must to wait for a "contingency?" Pakistan has long been supplying servicemen for Saudi Arabia's armed forces, as a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent reported in June 1984. The pretext is the same--the Gulf war.

In short, by the efforts of Washington and its "clients" an attempt is being made to integrate this war with the conflicts in neighboring regions where the imperialists are operating directly. One has only to glance at the map to see that all these "conflict zones," round the area where Iran and Iraq are at grips, adjoin the southern borders of the U.S.S.R. It is this that prompts the United States most of all to sustain by diverse means tension in the entire area from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. It is not by chance that this vast area has been declared by the Pentagon brass to be the third most important "theatre" after Europe and the Far East in the world war they are preparing. After all, the strategic plan Pincher worked out under the Truman Administration clearly stated that the main operations from the Mediterranean, with a subsequent advance either via the Balkans or the Middle East, combined perhaps with considerable operations from the Persian Gulf area with a view to the capture of the Dardanelles-Black Sea-Caucasus area, would have the biggest chances of success.

Needless to say that these "chances of success" have become rather slim over the past decades. But the senseless Gulf war encourages the adventurers in their dangerous illusions! They view it as an element of a global chain reaction that is controlled, to be sure, from Washington. Obviously, this creates a special threat to all the peoples of the Middle East. To their national independence and, moreover, to their very existence. Especially considering the previously unknown fact acknowledged by the former U.S. President Richard Nixon and reported by the TIME magazine that Washington has already been given serious thought to the question of using nuclear arms against Arab countries. Iran, too, is regarded as a possible target for a strike. Information

to this effect has repeatedly leaked into the American press. In the light of these reports it is evident that the NATO Supreme Allied Commander General Bernard Rogers had good reason to make the following forecast even before the Iran-Iraq conflict broke out: if a new world war is destined to flare up, it is most likely to be along the Middle East-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean line.

That is why the peace forces are doing everything to put an end to the Gulf war. Are their efforts in vain? To say this would mean to be unfair to Iraq, which is showing readiness to come to terms. It is to be hoped that the Iranian leaders, too, will come to see that this is necessary. As to Washington and its allies, it is also time for them to realize that the events in the Middle East are developing by far not according to the scenarios of Western strategists. The tension they are provoking there cuts both ways. As to the U.S.S.R., its position is clear and unchanging: the Gulf war must be stopped as quickly as possible.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

INDIAN CONCERN OVER PAKISTANI NUCLEAR PROGRAM MOUNTS

'First-Priority Tasks'

LD102229 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 10 Oct 85

[Text] New Delhi, October 10 (TASS)--In India there is mounting concern over press reports that Pakistan is actively preparing to test a nuclear weapon of its own. The apprehension has received fresh confirmation owing to the publication of a report to this effect in the United States. The report says directly that there is proof that the work on a nuclear program has become a first-priority task in Pakistan. The author of the report, Richard Cronin, a prominent U.S. specialist on Asian affairs in the Congressional Research Service, emphasizes that, as is evidenced by facts, Islamabad is speeding up preparation for the detonation of a nuclear device.

The newspaper HINDUSTAN TIMES points out that despite the testimony of this authoritative specialist, the President of the United States in point of fact declines to take measures to prevent Pakistan from creating a nuclear weapon of its own. The newspaper draws attention to the fact that this U.S. congressional report has been overtly compiled in the spirit of militarism and [word indistinct]. Thus, it contains recommendations that the White House provide Pakistan with additional types of the newest U.S. armaments so that it would become needless for Pakistan to create a nuclear weapon. Such a proposal may signify only a fresh escalation of the arms race in the subcontinent. The HINDUSTAN TIMES points out that India is firmly against this.

Gandhi Denies Having Bomb

LD120012 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 11 Oct 85

[Text] New Delhi, October 11 (TASS)--India has convincing proof that Pakistan is creating its own nuclear bomb, India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi told a press conference here. "We will have to examine our security problems in connection with the fact that Islamabad has obviously made headway in that area," he stressed. "We cannot permit that Delhi or some other Indian city share [words indistinct] of Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

The Indian prime minister has rejected as untruthful the claims made in the American newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST to the effect that India is allegedly creating a nuclear bomb. "Unlike Pakistan, we have no such program, and we are not making such a bomb. The Indian program pursues purely peaceful aims," Rajiv Gandhi said.

The prime minister expressed India's concern over the fact that in creating its nuclear bomb Islamabad gets assistance from foreign states. This means that the nuclear weapons created in Pakistan may also get to other countries, and this will further deteriorate the situation, he pointed out.

Rajiv Gandhi said that the main obstacle in the way of normalizing Indian-Pakistani relations are Pakistan's nuclear program and its continuing interference in India's home affairs. "On its part, India is ready to take any step to improve relations between the two countries," the prime minister said.

Rajiv Gandhi expressed confidence of a further normalization in Punjab. He stressed that the recently elected government of that state headed by S.S. Barnala, leader of the Akali Dal Party, will take the steps necessary for a successful socioeconomic development of Punjab.

#### 'Provocative Sallies'

LD191929 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT 19 Oct 85

[Text] New Delhi, October 19 (TASS)--Islamabad continues aggravating the situation along the line of control separating the part of the Jammu and Kashmir state it [words indistinct] from the rest of India. According to a report of the UNITED NEWS OF INDIA, Pakistani troops subjected to an unprovoked shelling Indian frontier patrols in Soker and Dholan districts and made provocative raids on other districts.

The [word indistinct] STATESMAN reports that Pakistan has of late been building up its military might on the border with India. Additional army units are being brought there. They are equipped with the latest armaments of U.S. make. Attempts are continuing to seize the strategically important district of Siachen glacier situated in the north of the Jammu and Kashmir state.

Provocative sallies on India's borders causes particular concern here in connection with Islamabad's program to create its own nuclear weapons. Pakistan has now actually reached a potential for creating an atomic bomb, said chief of staff of the Indian Army, General Arun Sridhar Vadua, addressing newsmen. If an armed conflict breaks out, whose danger on the western borders of India is now real, the nuclear menace will loom over entire India.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION IN PAKISTAN VIEWED

PM221011 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 85 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by D. Velikiy and V. Semenov under the rubric "We Answer a Reader":  
"In Dictatorship's Clutches"--first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] The IZVESTIYA editorial office has received readers' letters asking us to describe the domestic political situation which has taken shape in Pakistan since the elections this February. "Have they changed anything in the position of ordinary Pakistanis?" A. Trushkin, from Kiev asks.

First the elections. The dissatisfaction with the military dictatorship regime which intensified sharply at the end of last year among the broadest strata of the population merged into mass protest demonstrations and confronted Ziaul Haq with the necessity of holding in February the long-promised and twice-postponed parliamentary elections. The general presented the elections as a manifestation of the general trend toward the democratization of life in the country. But these statements could not mislead anyone. Because Ziaul Haq launched "election" activity which observers called the massacre of the opposition.

So the elections failed to justify Pakistanis' hopes. Indeed, those who were permitted to vote could scarcely be expected to express their will freely when martial law continued in the country, when there was a ban on meetings and demonstrations, when there was strict censorship of all periodical publications, when many opposition leaders had been imprisoned and when, finally, the voter was given a list of candidates who had previously been checked for "reliability" by the military authorities.

Now that a parliament has nonetheless been created as a result of the elections, the general is doing everything to compel it to act in the interests of the military administration and to justify its crimes. In that sense the prevailing situation is characterized by its combination with the "amendment" which Ziaul Haq has undertaken. It is a case of the constitutional amendment "On approving the military administration's activity in the period of martial law in the country," which has been imposed virtually as an order on the National Assembly. This amendment has not only placed a legal basis under the regime's actions since the 1977 military coup but would impart "the force of law" to all future actions by the administration.

The administration's actions have generated a wave of indignation among the Pakistani public. The leadership of the movement to restore democracy has described the amendment as a "death sentence" on the country's political structure. G.M. Jatoi, a member of the action committee of the Pakistan People's Party, banned by the regime, urged all political parties to take part in a nationwide campaign against this amendment. A large group of parliamentarians in the National Assembly stated that it will vote against its adoption.

The protests have had a certain effect and the amendment has not been pushed through in the form the president wanted. So far, the regime has been satisfied with the partial vindication of its activity. But it is clear from the logic of events that Ziaul Haq intends to increase pressure on the National Assembly to obtain full indulgence. Here the ruling regime has warned that if "differences" arise in parliament on this issue the president will retain the decisive word.

The nature of the future sins for whose remission the regime is concerned becomes clear if only from the fact that the Pakistani government has decided to create several large concentration camps in various parts of the country. The first camps, designed to isolate undesirables, will be created in Sind and Punjab provinces, where antigovernment sentiments are particularly strong. It is also proposed to expand the powers of the special services and to increase the surveillance of citizens, bug and tape-record their conversations, arrest all suspicious people, and send them to these camps without trial or investigation.

Right now there are hundreds of thousands of political prisoners incarcerated under almost medieval conditions. They are subject to torture and degradation. There are frequent cases of accuseds dying during the preliminary stage of the "investigation". And hanging awaits many of those who survive to be sentenced. In Punjab Province alone, by March 1983 the dictatorship had executed 1,350 people. In (Kot Lakhpat) prison in Lahore, 54 people have been sentenced to life imprisonment in the past 4 years. Many people are executed secretly without legal "formalities". It is proposed to introduce the same procedure in the concentration camps.

The current repressions and those which are being prepared are generating a storm of protest among the Pakistani people. And in an attempt to distract the Pakistanis' attention at least to some degree from the situation of political terror in their country, the military regime has actively joined in the slander campaign "in defense of human rights" against the USSR, inspired by the United States and supported by the British and FRG propaganda services. There are truly no bounds to the dictatorial regime's hypocrisy!

As well as the concentration camps under construction there are other camps in Pakistan whose existence also outrages Pakistanis. They are the dushmans' hornet's nests. A network of sabotage and subversion camps where the wide-scale training of dushmans for piratical attacks on DRA territory is carried out has been created with CIA money in the northwest border province of Baluchistan and other regions. A total of about 120 camps are in operation



where over 60,000 anti-Afghan mercenaries are being trained. Pakistani officers are forming detachments of bandits and training them to wield modern weapons and use the most sophisticated methods of murder and subversion. Special subunits of the regular Pakistani Army often take a direct part in bandit raids on DRA territory.

The recent visit to Islamabad by M. Armacost, U.S. undersecretary of state for political affairs, and D. Fortier, deputy assistant to the U.S. President for national security affairs, was a new step on the path of the consolidation of the aggressive U.S.-Pakistani alliance. As Armacost said in an interview with Pakistani television, "During the talks attention was focused on Afghanistan, where Pakistani and U.S. interests are parallel."

It should be added that the United States, via its representatives and in particular former president Nixon, who has visited Islamabad, has assured the anti-Afghan counterrevolutionary rabble of its unvarying support and promised bandit ringleaders a further increase in financial and military aid. For his part, the head of the Pakistani regime, in an attempt to oblige his Washington partners, made the unprecedented statement that the dushmans' war against Afghanistan "Is also Pakistan's war."

As we can see from the U.S. undersecretary of state's statements in Islamabad, he in fact admitted that the Pakistani nuclear program in which, according to press reports, many U.S. and other Western firms are involved, is aimed at creating nuclear weapons.

As for the economic situation in the country, it is characterized by phenomena like the growth of inflation and an increase in prices for necessities. Because of chronic unemployment, thousands of Pakistanis have been thrown into the streets. In Pakistan, per capita incomes are among the lowest in the world. But military expenditure per capita has doubled in the past 8 years.

Thus, the country's militarization, encouraged by the United States, is leading Pakistan even further into a political and economic impasse in which only the dictatorship's repressive apparatus feels at ease.

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CSO: 1807/65

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

TRADE EXCHANGES WITH ARAB COUNTRIES

LD082313 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 8 Oct 85

[Text] Moscow, 8 October--The TASS economic news desk reports:

Trade and economic ties between the Soviet Union and Kuwait are developing. Last year, for instance, the volume of bilateral trade amounted to 4.8 million roubles, and in the first 6 months of the current year to 2.1 million roubles.

The main Soviet export items to Kuwait in recent years were pipes (in 1984 Soviet deliveries amounted to 1.56 million roubles), coniferous sawn timber (about 0.86 million), machinery, equipment, means of transportation (0.34 million), cement (0.3 million), cultural and recreational goods (0.69 million roubles).

In turn the Soviet Union buys in Kuwait various goods, raw material and products that are traditional export items.

Contracts with trade partners in Kuwait are concluded by such Soviet foreign trade associations as "Machinoeksport," "Avtoeksport," [word indistinct], and "Aroimaterialintorg."

Joint irrigation construction, which is of much importance for the successful development of agriculture, is an important field of business ties between the Soviet Union and Algeria. This year, for instance, the Soviet foreign trade association "Selkhozpromeksport" signed a number of contracts with Algerian partners under which Soviet specialists jointly with Algerian colleagues will take part in the construction of irrigation in Algeria.

A contract has also been signed on the sending of Soviet specialists to Algeria to work at the Hydroameliorative Institute.

Various perfumery and cosmetics are exported by Syria to the Soviet Union. A large consignment of these goods was purchased this year. Various perfumes and creams will be delivered to the Soviet market under a contract signed by the Soviet foreign trade association "Soyuzhimeksport" and its Syrian partner "Kashlan Takieddine and Con Damascus."

The Soviet foreign trade association "Avtoeksport" has supplied to Egypt more than 7,000 "Lada" passenger cars. Of these cars the comfortable model "VAZ-2107"

and "VAZ-2105" are especially popular. In fact, these two models account for more than 50 percent of all Soviet car sales in that country.

Last year the total volume of car deliveries to Egypt by "Avtoeksport" amounted to 28 million roubles.

Before the end of 1985 the Soviet "Chnointorg" will deliver to Jordan about 400 "Minsk" AVF "Snowcap" household refrigerators.

These deliveries are provided for by a contract signed between the Soviet foreign trade association and the firm "National Trading Corporation."

In 1984 "Teknointorg" sold its Jordanian partners household goods and appliances to the sum of 54,000 [word indistinct].

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CSO: 1812/14

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

REPRESSION OF LEFTISTS IN IRAN NOTED

LD131000 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1839 GMT 10 Oct 85

[Text] Moscow, 10 Oct (TASS)--The press of the Peoples Party of Iran (PPI) and the Fadayeen-e Khalq Organization Majority Wing (FKOM) and also the mass information media of a number of countries have recently published material on the continuing repression in Iran of left-wing forces.

The material notes in particular that [words indistinct] trials of members of the PPI are continuing behind closed doors and that during these trials there is crude violation of procedural norms and the principles of democracy and justice. Iranian authorities are ignoring the demands of the progressive world public to grant international observers the opportunity to become acquainted with the cases and with the moral and physical state of the political prisoners, to ensure the legal right of the accused to make use of lawyers and to hold court sessions in the presence of foreign journalists.

Recently there have been closed trials of party activists who, in spite of the absence of any evidence or compromising documents were sentenced to long terms (12-15 years) of imprisonment. Recently, the fact that a group of members of the PPI and the FKOM had received death sentences which have been sent for confirmation by the supreme Islamic authorities has been made public. In particular, there is danger to the lives of PPI activists K. Zarshenas and M.S. Rowghani and representatives of FKOM leadership R. Taban and A. Lofti.

As is clear from reports, the use of cruel physical and moral torture is widely practiced on prisoners in Iranian jails with the aim of obtaining their "confessions". Some representatives of Iran's left-wing forces have already perished from the torture, and nothing is known about the fate of many of those arrested since the authorities refuse to say anything about them, even to their relatives. According to some reports in September of this year, several members of the organization of Mojahedin of the Iranian people were executed in Iran. The lives of other political prisoners languishing in Iranian torture-chambers are also in danger.

Iranian left-wing democratic organizations are appealing to the international community to come out in defense of the patriots arrested in Iran, and to try to achieve their speediest release.

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CSO: 1807/65

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

CHANGES IN SUDAN POLITICAL SCENE SINCE COUP VIEWED

PM220845 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 85 First Edition p 5

[V. Peresada answer to reader's letter under the rubric "We Answer Readers":  
"Sudan: A Difficult Stage"--first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] Please tell us about the situation in Sudan since the fall of the  
Numayri regime. Yu. Ostrovoy, Kiev.

It is more than 6 months since Sudanese President Numayri, who pursued an  
anti-democratic, pro-imperialist course, was overthrown as a result of a  
military coup. In that time, marked changes have taken shape in the country's  
sociopolitical life.

Let me remind you that the coup took place 6 April, in the midst of a general  
strike by working people which was threatening to turn into a people's  
uprising. At that time, the Sudanese National Salvation Alliance began to  
operate, incorporating the majority of trade unions and parties banned under  
Numayri, including the Communist Party; at the same time, sentiments opposed  
to the regime began to increase sharply in the army rank-and-file. Basically,  
a situation arose in which the regime could have been swept away by a movement  
of the masses. The strength and scale of this movement influenced the  
development of the situation in the country.

Thus, the most important question which arose after the coup--that of Sudan's  
future political system--was resolved through talks between the Transitional  
Military Council, which came to power, and the Sudanese National Salvation  
Alliance. They agreed that after a 1-year transitional period, constitutional  
forms of government will be established in Sudan. A transitional government  
was formed, in which the majority of posts are held by civilians. The basis  
for political cooperation between the military administration and civilian  
forces is the charter put forward by the Sudanese National Salvation Alliance.  
It mentions two main goals: first, the elimination of the structure of the  
former regime and all the consequences of its rule, and second, the laying of  
the foundations for democratic life and the strengthening of the country's  
independence.

Certain steps have already been taken in this direction. The party which  
ruled under Numayri and the secret police apparatus have been disbanded.

The old local administrative organs have been abolished and new governors appointed. Hundreds of political prisoners have been freed. Recently, according to reports from Khartoum, the Transitional Military Council approved a provisional constitution. It legalizes the activity of all political parties and provides for the election of a parliament which will approve a permanent constitution.

In the foreign policy sphere, the new authorities declared the country's adherence to the principles of nonalignment. In this connection, attention is drawn to the fact that this year for the first time Sudan refused to take part in the Bright Star military maneuvers which are organized periodically by the Pentagon. Measures have been taken to normalize relations with Libya and Ethiopia. Khartoum has also declared the desire to develop relations with the USSR.

But the situation is far from simple. Alongside the increase in the role of progressive forces, there is a stepping up of the activity of reactionary forces, especially right-wing Muslim groupings, which were closely linked with the former regime. Many of the regime's structures survived, and thousands of former secret police agents went into hiding, keeping their weapons; they are known in the country's democratic circles as the U.S. "fifth column". Right-wing bourgeois parties which once signed the charter of the Sudanese National Salvation Alliance are operating with a view to some kind of "renewal of the facade," but not profound changes.

Sudan's economy is still in a disastrous situation. The ruinous state into which the Numayri regime got the national economy is exacerbated by the terrible consequence of the recent drought--the famine. Sudan is still strongly dependent on U.S. "aid".

The most acute domestic political problem--that of southern Sudan has yet to be settled. That extensive zone is inhabited by negro tribes who profess Christianity and pagan beliefs, while the rest of the country is inhabited by Muslim Arabs. The resolution of the problem of the south is connected with the granting of autonomy to the region. Armed clashes continue there between local rebels and government troops.

In this complex situation, the Sudanese communists' newspaper AL-MAYDAN writes that the broadest possible unity is needed among forces which advocate the full restoration of democracy and national sovereignty. Only on this condition is it possible to satisfy the aspirations of the people's masses and thwart the intrigues of domestic reaction and imperialism.

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CSO: 1807/66

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

DRA TO RECEIVE ELECTRIC ENERGY FROM UZBEKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 29 June 1985 carries on page 2 a 200-word item by UzTAG correspondent Ye. Velichanskaya entitled "USSR-Afghanistan Energy Bridge" in which he reports that the final section of a 220 kilovolt electric line was accepted for use on 27 June, making it possible to send electric energy produced by the Central Asian Integrated Energy System to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The 85 kilometer long line begins at the Amu-Zang substation in Uzbekistan, crosses the Amudarya River at an elevation of 75 meters, and on Afghan territory runs from Hairatan to Mazari Sharif. Two transformer substations, each with 16 kilovolt-amperes, were built at Mazari Sharif to receive the current. Soviet and Afghan specialists took part in setting up the line, thanks to which numerous localities in the Afghan countryside will begin to be electrified. The basic energy for the line comes from the Norak GES in Tajikistan and from the Navoi GRES in Uzbekistan.

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CSO: 1836/413

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

UN SECURITY COUNCIL VOTE ON RSA 'UNPROVOKED AGGRESSION' VIEWED

LD090624 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 8 Oct 85

[Dispatch from New York prepared by TASS correspondent]

[Text] The United Nations Security Council has adopted unanimously a resolution urging South Africa to stop immediately all acts of aggression against Angola and withdraw unconditionally and without delay her troops that occupy Angolan territory. The Council was convened at the request of the People's Republic of Angola, which had fallen victim to yet another act of aggression, committed by the racists in order to give military support to counterrevolutionary UNITA bands, which were organized and supplied by Pretoria.

The Security Council qualified that act of predetermined and unprovoked aggression and also the continuing occupation by South Africa of part of the Angolan territory as a crude violation of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and as a great threat to world peace and security. The resolution confirms Angola's right to take all measures to protect and ensure her sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence envisaged by the United Nations Charter. The document calls on the countries, members of the United Nations Organization, to give every possible help to Angola so that she could strengthen her defense in face of South Africa's aggression. When that point of the resolution was put to vote, the United States abstained from voting and thus opposed itself once again to the entire international community. Dozens of speakers underlined, during the discussion of the consequences of the South African aggression, that the racists rely on the broad military and political assistance of the United States in sending counterrevolutionaries to Angolan territory, among other things.

The American Administration tries to persuade the world public that it's interested in solving problems in the south of Africa, and in other parts of the world, by peaceful means. And, in the meantime, it keeps encouraging the terrorist methods against the legitimate governments all the time.

It's not accidental that Pretoria's extremist tendencies have intensified right now that South Africa's living through an acute crisis caused by protest demonstrations of the black population unprecedented for scale and strength. That point was emphasized by envoys of many countries at the Security Council



meeting. The racist regime is actually no longer able to control the situation in the country they declared, and, in these conditions, it has stepped up its banditry acts of aggression against independent countries.

The Security Council has turned to an investigation commission set up by it two weeks ago, made up of representatives of Australia, Egypt, and Peru, with the request to urgently submit a report which will evaluate the damage done to Angola by South Africa's aggression.

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CSO: 1812/20

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

PAST, PRESENT SITUATION IN CHAD VIEWED

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 17, Sep 85 pp 47-48

[Article by A. Davydov under the rubric "AGITATOR Atlas": "On the Events in Chad"]

[Text] The republic of Chad is a state in the heart of Central Africa. TERRITORY: 1,284,000 km<sup>2</sup> POPULATION: 4,400,000 ETHNIC COMPOSITION: Toubou, Masa, Sara, Hausa, Arabs and others. CAPITAL CITY: N'Djamena (approximately 200,000 inhabitants). OFFICIAL LANGUAGE: French. The inhabitants of Chad are adherents of Islam, Christianity and local religions. Chad is a former colony of France. Independence was declared in 1960.

Chad is a backward agrarian country. Agriculture accounts for approximately one-half of its gross national product. Industry is represented primarily by small-scale enterprises involved in the processing of agricultural products. The southern regions, where tilled lands and the majority of the industrial enterprises are concentrated, are relatively more highly developed. The inhabitants of the northern regions lead a nomadic lifestyle. Cotton and livestock products are the principal agricultural yields. Machines, equipment, petroleum products and many widely used items are imported.

Upon independence, Chad inherited from colonialism both economic backwardness and internal disunity. For many years now the country has been living in a state of actual civil war. A complex of socioeconomic, ethnic and religious problems is at the root of armed clashes between various military and political factions. Continuing interference on the part of imperialist powers is impeding a solution to these problems. Under these conditions of internecine warfare, many Chadians have been forced to leave their country and take up residence in neighboring Cameroon and other states. The Chadian economy is in disarray; the majority of its enterprises are closed.

For a long time persons from the southern regions were in power in the country. The government of N. Tombalbay, the first president of Chad (1960-1975), implemented the so-called "middle way" in domestic policy; this policy proposed development of a mixed private/state sector within the national economy. In foreign policy, the political line was toward cooperation with France. French

troops were stationed in the country. In April 1975, army officers staged an overthrow of the government during which N. Tombalbay was killed. A High Military Council, headed by General F. Mallum, was set up to govern the country. The Chad National Liberation Front (FROLINA), created in 1965, stepped up its activities. Representing the Islamic peoples of the north, this organization put forth a program for strengthening Chad's national independence, ensuring equal rights for all citizens and democratizing sociopolitical life. However, the organization itself was disunited, consisting of various militarized factions which were based largely on clan and tribal association.

After an agreement was reached in August 1978 between the authorities and the leadership of the northern opposition, a government was formed to replace the High Military Council. During this same period, in addition to FROLINA there appeared on the country's political scene many military and political factions. These had either split off from FROLINA or had been formed independently to embody the interests of various ethnic groups and social strata. The situation worsened sharply and there occurred bloody clashes in N'Djamena and other cities. The activities of certain neighboring states which claimed to have an interest in the resolution of the Chad problem increased. This problem increasingly extended beyond the realm of a single country, and was becoming a problem on an Africa-wide, international scale.

As a result of lengthy negotiations between all Chadian factions and neighboring states at a conference in Lagos (Nigeria) in August 1979 under the aegis of the Organization of African Unity, the decision was made to create a transitional government of national unity. This government was expected to put an end to the domestic political crisis. Such a government was established in November 1979. It was headed by Goukouni Weddeye, the leader of FROLINA. The leader of the so-called "Northern Armed Forces", Hisssein Habre, entered the government as minister of defense. But even after the establishment of the transitional government the situation remained tense. Efforts by the government to follow an independent course met with serious opposition by imperialist powers, which provoked a mutiny by H. Habre's faction in March 1980.

G. Weddeye was forced to turn to Libya for help. Supported by Libyan troops, the transitional government of national unity was successful in defeating the mutinous minister's forces and throwing them back to the Chad-Sudan border. However, beginning in the spring of 1981, and having recouped from his defeat, H. Habre renewed military operations. In November of that same year, under pressure from the USA, France and a number of African countries which had launched an anti-Libyan campaign, the transitional government asked Libya to withdraw its troops from Chad. By decision of the OAU, "intra-African neutral forces" arrived in Chad, made up of military contingents from Nigeria, Zaire and Senegal. This operation was financed by the USA and France. At the same time H. Habre was given generous military, financial and material assistance, which allowed his forces to launch a broad offensive and crush the ineffectual resistance of the transitional government's troops. The transitional government of national unity had not been able to overcome internal dissension and close ranks to face the approaching threat. With an obvious assist from the "intra-African forces", in June 1982 H. Habre's faction captured the capital city N'Djamena and established control over a significant portion of the

country's territory. In October 1982 H. Habre declared himself the head of state: president of Chad. The transitional government of national unity moved to the north of the country.

Starting at the beginning of 1983, having reorganized its military units with Libyan assistance, the transitional government reactivated its struggle against the regime of H. Habre. The military successes achieved by the forces grouped around the transitional government alarmed the ruling circles of the USA, France, other Western countries and their African allies. Military equipment, supplies and munitions began to stream into N'Djamena. French paratroop units and units from Zaire hurriedly arrived to assist H. Habre. As a result of these measures the regime managed to halt the advance of G. Weddeye's armies. The country was virtually divided into two parts: the northern regions were under the control of the transitional government, while the central regions were in H. Habre's hands. In an attempt to steer the problem of Chad out of a deadlock, France and Libya evacuated their units from the country in November 1984, in accordance with a negotiated settlement.

The situation in Chad remains complex and contradictory. At the end of 1984 and beginning of 1985 the situation in the southern regions worsened. There the population, just like the transitional government of national unity, rejects the authority of the H. Habre regime and in spite of repression is giving support to the southern opposition, which is dealing tangible blows to government forces. The social base of the ruling regime continues to shrink. Chadian political organizations are making themselves increasingly felt, taking a progressive national democratic stance along with the transitional government.

The African public is expressing concern over the instability of the situation within and around Chad. The situation is complicated by the fact that Western powers are attempting to draw certain African states into the conflict, using for this purpose certain means of leverage which these powers have at their disposal. The Chad question has become the object of sharp disputes within the OAU. The repeated efforts of this organization to negotiate a settlement between the opposing sides have been unsuccessful because of the obstructionist stance of H. Habre's regime, acting at the instigation of the USA and France. By utilizing the Chad problem, the USA is attempting to realize its far-reaching goals: to split the OAU, halt the process of African peoples' national and social liberation, and turn Chad into a staging area for possible aggressive acts against progressive regimes. The USA, France and some other Western countries, acting both directly and through their allies, are attempting to establish dominance over Africans, limit their sovereignty, and deny them the right to make independent decisions.

The USSR extended diplomatic recognition to Chad in the year in which it obtained its independence. Soviet-Chadian relation have traditionally been of an amicable nature. The sympathies of Soviet people have been and remain on the side of those circles in Chadian society which are in favor of turning Chad into a truly independent state, and developing it in the interests of the broad masses of the people. The conflict in Chad is a purely internal matter of the Chadians, its political solution can and must be found without interference from without.

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